

EUROPEANS ON KASHMIR

SHAFI SHAUQ
QAZI ZAHOOR
SHOUKAT FAROOQI



"Kashmir will become the focus of Asiatic civilization; a miniature England in the heart of Asia - and, presenting so many attractions, it will become the *sine qua non* of the oriental traveller, when he be disposed to consider it as the *Ultima Thule* of his voyage, or a resting place, when he may start again for still more distant regions"

G. T. Vigne:
Travels in Kashmir,
Ladakh & Iskardu.

"Cashmir still maintains its celebrity as the most delicious spot in Asia, or in the world".

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SHAFI SHAUQ

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SUMMIT

1997

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TO
ALL THOSE
EUROPEAN SCHOLARS
WHO
EXPLORED VARIOUS ASPECTS OF
KASHMIR STUDIES

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PREFACE

Today when the Kashmiris and the Europeans have forged relationships of collaboration, and there is hardly any Kashmiri to remember the latter as usurpers, oppressors and imperialists, a book on the views of Europeans on the Kashmiris and their country was much called for. The present work is an attempt to make available to the readers, in a compendious form, selected writings from numerous works of European scholars who spent the best part of their time in studying the unexplored aspects of Kashmir and its people. Care has been taken to include writings on almost all subjects, so that the book meets the various demands of present-day readers in general and specialists in particular.

Europeans have been taking interest in Kashmir since the dawn of civilization, but the nineteenth century is, in this respect, of great importance, as they visited Kashmir in large number, and in spite of the vicissitudes of the arduous journey, and hazards in living here, devoted their lives to Kashmir studies. The reasons for this unprecedented enthusiasm were, of course, more than one, but exploring the mystique of Kashmir in the Himalayas was certainly the predominant motive. A detailed introduction is expected to reveal some of these motives and interests and also to give readers an idea of the scope of the studies.

The selection has been guided by the prime concern of presenting a work of an encyclopaedic nature on Kashmir, but representing the main authors, travellers and researchers could not be ignored. Nevertheless, the danger of repetition has constrained us to leave out several such authors whose contribution to Kashmir studies is unforgettable, many aspects having been dealt with, although variously, by various authors; we chose one article only on each aspect.

Notwithstanding our attempt to make the book all-embracing, we could not include such works as contain subjective impressions and emotional responses of the travellers who have had a direct experience of living at the universally eulogised tourist resorts like Gulmarg, Pahalgam, Achival, Mughal Gardens, Lolab, Verinag, and

Konsar Nag, to name only a few; it demands a separate volume of selections.

For the sake of making the book more meaningful, we have added a brief chronological outline of the political history of Kashmir, which compensates the absence of a detailed chapter on the subject. Since history is always a point of view, rather than an actual record of events, we could not include more excerpts from European authors. It is not, however, necessary for the editors to agree to what the Europeans have written about personalities and the people.

A comprehensive select bibliography given at the end of the book is provided to help readers interested in finding material for further study, besides giving them an idea of the scope of the subject.

The authors of various papers included in this volume have not followed the standard spelling of the proper names. For the sake of readers' convenience, we have retained the familiar spellings of such proper names that figure in the Index and the Bibliography.

We are grateful to Vikki Pitcher who fastidiously prepared the print MS of the book and used her competence in taking care of the tiring details in editing.

We are also indebted to Computer Vision for unstinted support in preparing the laser print and Mr. Shabir of Crown Printing Press, for making the book reach its printed form.

Finally, we would like to thank our children, particularly Farrukhzad, Qazi Iqra Azal and Sheema Farooqi who despite their pressing school work assisted us in proof-reading.

Srinagar

21 November 1996

EDITORS

INTRODUCTION

Knowest thou the land where towering cedars rise
In graceful majesty to cloudless skies;
Where whiter peaks than marble rise around,
And icy plough-shares pierce the flower-clad ground?
Knowest thou the cliffs above Sonamarg gorges dread,
Where the great yaks with trembling footsteps tread;
Where keenest winds from icy summits blow
And chill the deserts of eternal snow?
Knowest thou it well? Oh, let us once more there
Scale cliffs, and granite avalanches dare.

*(Andrew Wilson, 1875)*¹

Ancient Scriptures, chronicles, travelogues and memoirs in various languages of the world abound in eulogising descriptions of Kashmir. In spite of their best expressive talents and stylistic competence, the writers of the bygone ages could not, as they admitted, produce a picture deep enough to represent the earthly Elysium of the Himalayas with its panoramas of splendour and sublime beauty; what they achieved was nothing more than a tantalising illusion of a wonderland. It was the result of these descriptions that people from all corners of the world with a penchant for adventure, insatiable love for beauty and a restive soul in the quest for truth visited the Valley in all ages. Visitors also continued braving perils of the hazardous journey to reach Kashmir for acquisition of knowledge, as Kashmir was once considered an important centre of learning, and a visit to Kashmir was no less than a pilgrimage, the crown of achievement in one's life.

It is very difficult, impossible even, to name the first European to have visited Kashmir. Nevertheless, it is quite safe to believe that Scylax, the great explorer, must have travelled in the Valley of Kashmir when he was deputed by Darius Hystaspes, the Great, (550 - 486 B.C.) to explore the origin of the Indus.

Herodotus (484 - 420 B.C.) writes that Scylax reached Kashmir, which he mentions as 'Caspatyus'. Although 'Kashmir' and 'Caspatyus' are quite dissimilar in their phonetic character, the geographical location given by Herodotus and the comparison between the name given by him, and the ancient name of the Valley 'Caspapyrus' given in ancient Sanskrit texts, lead us believe that he referred to Kashmir, 'Caspatyus'. According to Herodotus, it was in the vicinity of Northern India, and it was from this place that Scylax 'sailed' towards the East. The original travelogue of Scylax is not extant, however, it might have been a mistake of Herodotus in reading the original text that he used the word 'sailed'. The river Indus is navigable from Pakholi (Pactyica) which is contiguous to Kashmir in the west.

Similarly, we can relate the 'Caspatyus' to the old name of Kashmir, 'Caspapyrus', when keeping in mind the legend in which this name of Kashmir is mentioned. It is sometimes called 'Kasyapapur' and 'Kashappar', because it is said that it was the great Rishi, named Kashyapa (the great Indian astronomer, after whose name the constellation of Cassiopeia is known), who made the Valley habitable by giving vent to the water of the lake that Kashmir once was, and was called the Satisar! "We have every reason to conclude", says H.H. Wilson, "that the Kaspapyrus of the Greeks is the Kasyapapur, or Kashmir, of the Hindus, which therefore was known by the original of its present denomination, as early as the reign of Darius Hysptaspes, or more than five centuries before the Christian era".²

In 1535, St. Ignatius Loyola founded the Roman Catholic Society of Jesus, which was primarily devoted to missionary and educational work throughout the known world. The members of the Society, called Jesuits, devoted their lives to propagating Christianity to all parts of the world, however inaccessible they might be.

In the beginning of the 1550s, when the last Shahniri Sultans of Kashmir were constantly under the pressure of the Mughals, a Portuguese Jesuit, Xavier, was the first authentic European to tread the Valley as yet unknown to Europe. Soon after him, in 1552, another Jesuit, Francis Xavier, reached Kashmir with the zeal to disseminate the message of Christ in the East. He first visited the court of Akbar to persuade the great emperor to allow him to

propagate Christianity in India, and then accompanied by Benedict de Geos, he visited the court of the last of the Shahmiri Sultans.

It was the year when Somerset was beheaded in England and Mirza Haider Dughlat, a member of Babur's household and then a supporter of Humayun and author of *Tarikhi Rashidi*, was killed in a battle with the Chaks of Kashmir. Xavier recorded his experiences in the Valley in a book which is not accessible.

It is safe to presume that the Jesuits must have continued their struggle to establish the Christian faith which was new to Kashmiris. In 1597, two missionaries, Father Jerome Xavier and Benedict de Goes, accompanied Akbar to Kashmir. However, nothing can be said for certain about what they did and achieved in Kashmir.

During the Mughal period (1586 - 1752), Kashmir was made a summer resort for the amorous and romantic Mughal kings and queens. They added manmade gardens to a huge natural garden laid out by the imperceptible genius of geological phenomena, and Kashmir became a veritable "emerald set with pearls". The Mughals regularly visited the Valley and were engaged in an unquenchable strife for the beautification of the landscape. Among the great chroniclers, travellers and scholars, that accompanied the Mughals to Kashmir, there was a French physician named Francois Bernier (1620 - 1688, Paris) who visited the Valley in 1665 as a member of the royal cavalcade of Aurangzeb and Danishmaud Khan. Thus he was one of the first European visitors to cross the Pansal range and to record his experiences in the happy valley.

Bernier wrote his memoir in the form of letters, which were published in 1670 in Paris under the title *Travels in India*. They give a vivid picture of seventeenth century Kashmir and her people.

After a description of the travails on his journey through the simmering and parched plains of India, he suddenly beholds an earthly Elysium when he reaches Bhimber, the entrance to the mountains of Kashmir, and then, after a few days' journey through the thick forests of pines and deodars on both sides of the meandering Mughal Road, he reaches the Valley proper. In his letters, we find ecstatic descriptions like the one given below:

The numberless streams which issue from the mountains maintain the valley and the hillocks in the most delightful verdure. The whole kingdom wears the appearance of a fertile and a highly

cultivated garden. Villages and hamlets are frequently seen through the luxuriant foliage. Meadows and vineyards, fields of rice, wheat, hemp, saffron and many sorts of vegetables, among which are intermingled trenches filled with water, rivulets, canals, and several small lakes, add variety to the enchanting scene. The whole ground is enamelled with our European flowers and plants, and covered with apple, pear, plum, apricot and walnut trees, all bearing fruit in great abundance.³

Bernier, who was spiritually enraptured by the marvels of the natural beauty of the land, found its inhabitants living in harmony with the environs, as if framed and nurtured by the elemental forces, to be in keeping with the untainted surroundings. He writes in one of his letters:

The Kashmiris are celebrated for wit, and considered much more intelligent and ingenious than the Indians. In poetry and sciences they are not inferior to the Persians. They are very active and industrious.⁴

About the physical features of the people, he writes:

The people of Kashmire are proverbial for their clear complexions and fine forms. They are as well made as the Europeans, and their faces are neither the tartar flat nose, nor the small pig eyes that distinguish the natives of Kacheguer, and which generally mark those of Great Tibet. The women especially are very handsome; and it is from this country that nearly every individual when first admitted to the court of the Great Mogol, selects wives or concubines, that his children may be whiter than the Indians and pass for genuine Mogols. Unquestionably, there must be beautiful women among the higher classes, if we may judge by those of the lower orders seen in

the streets and in the shops.⁵

Bernier has raised many debatable questions about Kashmir and the Kashmiris. For example, on Judaism in Kashmir, he writes:

There are, however, many signs of Judaism to be found in the country. On entering the Kingdom after crossing the *Pire - penjale* mountains, the inhabitants of the frontier villages struck me as resembling Jews. Their countenance and manner, and that indescribable peculiarity which enables a traveller to distinguish the inhabitants of different nations, all seemed to belong to that ancient people. You are not to ascribe what I say to mere fancy, the Jewish appearance of these villagers having been remarked by our Jesuit Father, and by several other Europeans, long before I visited Kachemire.

A second sign is the prevalence of the name of Mousa, which means Moses, among the inhabitants of this city, notwithstanding they are all Mohammadans.

A third is the common tradition that *Solomon* visited this country, and that it was he who opened a passage for the waters by cutting the mountain of Baramoulé.

A fourth, the belief that *Moses* died in the city of Kachemire, and that his tomb is within a league of it.

And a fifth may be found in the generally received opinion that the small and extremely ancient edifice seen on one of the high hills was built by *Solomon*; and it is therefore called the *Throne of Solomon* to this day.

You will see then, that I am not disposed to deny

that Jews may have taken up their residence in Kachemire.⁶

It is interesting to note that the Jewish features of Kashmiris and the Jewish manners have been observed by several other European visitors to Kashmir. The Jews came to India with the commencement of the Christian era and settled permanently in Cochin (Karella). There have been strong political, spiritual and intellectual relations between Karella and Kashmir since time immemorial. The impact of Jewish culture on Kashmir cannot be ruled out; only our in-depth investigation can pave the way for conviction in this conjecture.

Bernier further wrote about the beauty of Kashmir:

.... it may therefore be reasonably concluded that the *Garden of Eden* was planted in Kachemir, and not, according to the received opinion, in Armenia.⁷

Bernier's letters included in his memoir also reveal the Kashmiris' excellence in art and literature. They had produced a galaxy of Persian poets who enjoyed the Mogols' patronage. Although Aurangzeb had no interest in poetry and music, Kashmiri poets were quick to greet the emperor:

We were no sooner arrived than Aurungzebe received from the bards of both Kashmir and India, poems in praise of this favoured land which he accepted, and rewarded with kindness.⁸

There are similar descriptions of the Valley and its people in other works of the Europeans of the time. Dow's remarks in his *History of Hindostan* (Vol. 1, page 41), for instance, are remarkably identical:

The Kingdom of Cashmere may be reckoned as a terrestrial paradise. It is entirely enclosed with high mountains which separate India from Tartary; insomuch, that there is no entrance on any side, but over rocks of prodigious height. It consists, in

a manner, of one valley of surprising fertility and beauty. The air is temperate and charming, it is neither visited with scorching heat nor vicissitude of extreme cold. A thousand little springs which issue on all sides from the mountains form there a fine river, which after watering the plains of this delightful country, falls down rocks of an astonishing height into the river Indus. The inhabitants are astonishingly handsome, and the women especially, enchantingly beautiful. The Cashmerians, moreover, are extremely ingenious, and carry the arts of civil life to high perfection. Their beauty, in short, says a Persian author, makes them appear to be of divine race, and their charming country furnishes them with the life of gods.⁹

Bernier's account of the land and the people of Kashmir created great enthusiasm among the historians, travellers, anthropologists and poets, to know more about the Valley. The romantic English poets of the nineteenth century, like Coleridge, Shelley and Thomas Moore, seem to have been inspired by Bernier's letters, and their penchant for orientalism was deeply stirred. Thomas Moore (1779 - 1852), who was mainly known for his oriental romance, *Lalla Rookh*, was particularly swayed by the romantic tales of the Orient. He wrote his magnum opus in 1817, which was in agreement with heroic and exotic narrative verse of Scott and Byron. Besides the aptness of its narrative framework, felicity of phrase and flow of the story, one remarkable thing about the long poem, or rather series of poems, is the striking similarity between the real landscape of the Valley and his visionary picture of the land. The poem, which was immensely popular in its time and continues to be read with delight, was mainly successful because, as Florence Parbury has observed, the Valley of Kashmir is not much different from Chartsworth Valley of Ireland, where the Irish poet lived with his soul in the idyllic Orient.

Who has not heard of the Vale of Cashmere
with its roses the brightest that earth ever gave
Its temples, and grottos, and fountains as clear

The summits of the higher and more distant mountains were clothed resplendently in white, and the minor and more contiguous preserved in perpetual verdure, and embellished with stately trees, because it was meet that the mistress of the kingdoms of the earth should be crowned with a diadem whose top and rays were diamonds issuing from a basework of emeralds.¹¹

Such eulogistic descriptions which enskied the Valley and its people, must have kindled a flame of passion for knowing the unknown in the mind of all Europeans who looked to the Orient for peace, glory and romance, fast vanishing from the west, with the industrial revolution. There were also several Christian preachers ready to brave all hazards and perils to propagate their faith to distant lands. Kashmir, already reckoned as the terrestrial paradise had a strong fascination for them. Father Hippolyte Desideri, a Jesuit from Florence, arrived at Srinagar in November 1714. He too was awe-struck to behold the unparalleled beauty and abundance of the land. He wrote:

The whole district round the city is not only beautiful, but extremely fertile, producing abundant crops and a great variety of fruit, such as grapes, pears, apples, walnuts, peaches, apricots, plums, cherries, almonds, pistachio nuts, quinces, and similar fruit. In spring, the many European flowers which are not found in quantities in other parts of the Mogol, such as roses, tulips, anemones, narcissii, hyacinths and the like, are a great delight to the people of the country and to all who happen to be there. For these reasons, Kashmir is called by everyone Behest, which means terrestrial paradise.¹²

Another European traveller who visited the Valley of Kashmir in the eighteenth century was an officer in the Bengal Army, namely, George Forster. In his letters, published under the title *A Journey from Bengal to St. Petersburg*, he gives a vivid description of the socio-economic life of Kashmiris in the later part of the

eighteenth century, when they were languishing in their hapless submission to an implacable rule of tyranny.

The Europeans could not come to Kashmir regularly because the Valley was almost inaccessible for the common man; outsiders could reach the Valley only in well-equipped caravans through extremely perilous paths over passes in the encompassing mountains. The only means of transport were mules, ponies, camels and coolies. The main route that connected Kashmir with north-western India was the Imperial Route over the Pir Pantsal Pass. The Mughals had built a number of inns for the convenience of the royal caravans, and was therefore known as the Mughal Road. It was mainly through this route that Europeans used to come to the Valley.

Among the European scholars who were enthusiastically engaged in exploring the genius of the East and studying its antiquities, Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson is definitely one of the few of such scholars who achieved great success in the early nineteenth century. In 1825, he published his famous essay on the Hindu history of Kashmir in the transactions of the Bengal Asiatic Society. "Dr. Wilson showed," writes Stein, "that the Sanskrit History of Kashmir called the *Raajtarangani*, for which Sir William Jones had looked out in vain, was not one entire composition, as had till then been thought, but a series of four chronicles, written by different authors, the last three being intended to serve as successive continuations of the first and most important work of the series. - This is the *Raajtarangani* of Kalhana." Wilson's essay entitled *An Essay of the Hindu History of Cashmir* was first published in the Asiatic Researches, Serampore, Vol. XV, 1825, pp. 1 - 119.

About the great classic *Raajtarangani* of Kalhana, Dr. Wilson wrote:

The only Sanskrit composition yet discovered, to which the title History can with any propriety be applied is the *Raajtarangani*, a history of Kashmir. This work was first introduced to the knowledge of the Mohammadans by the learned Minister of Akbar, Abul Fazl, but the summary which he has given of its contents was taken, as he informs us, from a Persian translation of the Hindu original, prepared by order of Akbar.¹³

In the introduction to this very important essay, Dr. Wilson tells us that Bernier had attempted a French translation of *Raajtarangani*, but nothing is known of this translation. When Francis Gladwin's translation of *Aayini Akbari* by Abul Fazl was published in 1783 - 6, a great curiosity was generated among the Europeans, but it was in the year 1805 that H. T. Colebrooke was successful in discovering the original Sanskrit manuscript in the family of a Brahman in Calcutta.

Wilson has consulted almost all the authentic sources of history, and among the Persian histories, he mentions the *Nawadir-ul Akhbar* by Rafi-ud Din Mohammad, the *Wakiat-i Kashmir* by Mohammad Azim, the *Tarikhi Kashmir* by Narayan Koul, and the *Goheri Alem Tohfetus Shahi* by Badia-ud Din. He gives several thought-provoking details of these histories and an interesting thing given by Wilson about the history of Badia-ud Din, the son of Mohammad Azim is that it was written, according to the statement of Badia-ud Din, after consulting authorities, particularly "the *Nur Namah*, an ancient history of Kashmir, written by Shaikh Nur-ud Din Wali in the Kashmirian language, and rendered into Persian by Moulavi Ahmad Almeh in the reign of Zani-ul Abidin, a copy of which the author had procured from one of the descendants of the last independent princes of Kashmir, who were settled as private individuals in Akbarabad or Agra; and it is to be presumed that to this work Badia-ud Din owes the extraordinary additions which he has made occasionally to the labours of his predecessors, and their common original."¹⁴

Wilson also sums up the portion of Badia-ud Din's history, which deals with the origin of the Kashmiri people:

.... he begins with the creation, and brings Adam from Sarandip, where all Muhammedan authorities place him after the fall, to Kashmir. The sovereignty of Kashmir continued in the line of Seth for 1110 years, when the Hindus conquered the province Und Havinand Raja, and his family ruled it till the period of the deluge. After the flood Kashmir was peopled by a tribe from Turkestan. The inhabitants were taught the worship of one God, by Moses, who died there, and whose tomb or place of sepulture is still to be

seen in Kashmir. The relapse of the Kashmirians into the Hindu idolatry was punished by the local inundation of the province and the solitary supremacy of the Afrit, Jaladeo, as described in the *Wakiati Kashmir*.... These details are sufficient to give an idea of Bedia-ud Din's, or probably of the Shaikh Noor-ud Din's historical merits.¹⁵

In 1823, W. Moorcroft, George Trebeck and Guthrie, three zealous expeditionists, reached Srinagar and stayed for two years to study Kashmir history and society. Moorcroft was the first Indologist to procure the first manuscript of Kalhana's *Raajtarangani*. He wrote his experiences in Kashmir and the results of his study in a book *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces* (1819 - 25), in collaboration with his fellow traveller, G. Trebeck. The illustrated two-volume book was later on edited and published by H. H. Wilson in 1841. Moorcroft's study, accomplished painstakingly, reveals several stark realities about Kashmir history. For example, here is a heartrending description of the abject misery and suffering of the Kashmiri people almost stifled by the clutches of the Sikh rule:

The number of Kashmirians who were to accompany us over the mountains proved here to be no exaggeration, and their appearance, half naked, and miserably emaciated, presented a ghastly picture of poverty and starvation. Yet wretched as they were, the relentless Sikhs would have levied a pice a head for permission to pass the post had we not interfered. The Sikhs seems to look upon the Kashmirians as little better than cattle. The murder of a native by a Sikh is punished by a fine to the government of from sixteen to twenty rupees, of which four rupees are paid to the family of the deceased, if a Hindu, two rupees if he was a Muhamedan. The body of a stout young man, whose throat had been cut, was lying close to the road on one part of this journey, and the only notice taken of it was by Mardan Ali, the Malik, who ordered it to be covered with grass

that our porters might not be frightened by the sight. Three other bodies were met with on the route. Those were some of the followers of Jawahir Mal, who, to the number of forty-five, it was asserted, had perished in crossing the pass lately, in rough and cold weather, against which they were ill defended by clothing or shelter. Some of the people accompanying us were seized by our Sikhs as unpaid porters, and were not only driven along the road by a cord tying them together by the arms, but their legs were bound with ropes at night to prevent their escape.¹⁶

Moorcroft was on his ill-fated expedition to Turkestan, and his account of the plight of the porters in the age-old system of corvee, known as *begar* in the vernacular, is horrifying as Moorcroft has witnessed it himself on several occasions. The Sikhs manipulated the corvee for their benefit to the limits of human patience and dignity. Moorcroft felt that a centuries' old tyranny by foreign rulers had deformed and blemished the character of the Kashmiris. He wrote that the Kashmiri was "selfish, superstitious, ignorant, supple, intriguing, dishonest and false; he has great ingenuity as a mechanic and a decided genius for manufactures and commerce; but his transactions are always conducted in a fraudulent spirit, equalled only by the effrontery with which he faces detection".¹⁷

After staying at Bokhara for about five months, Moorcroft set out to return to India. He had purchased a number of valuable horses from Bokhara and, along with a few servants, deviated from the main route of the caravan to penetrate the Maimana region to purchase more horses, "the best horses in Asia," but as H. H. Wilson writes, "his life fell a sacrifice to his zeal. At Andhko, where he spent some days in effecting purchases, he was taken ill with fever and died".¹⁸

His notes and journals were discovered in 1835 in the desk of Mr. Fraser, Assistant Resident at Delhi, who was murdered by some hired assassin. Mr. Fraser had strived to obtain them.

In 1833, an English, G. T. Vigne, started his long journey from Bombay to visit Kashmir, Ladakh and Iskardo. After travelling extensively in Punjab, he reached Kashmir in the autumn of 1835. He was partly inspired to undertake this excruciating journey by a

statement in Elphinstone's *India*, as the front page of his book, *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo*:

Cashmir still maintains its celebrity as the most delicious spot in Asia, or in the world.¹⁹

Vigne was not only convinced by what Elphinstone had written, he also prognosticated:

Kashmir will become the focus of Asiatic civilisation; a miniature England in the heart of Asia.... and, presenting so many attractions, it will become the *sine qua non* of the oriental traveller, when he be disposed to consider it as the Ultima Thule of his voyage, or a resting place, when he may start again for still more distant regions.²⁰

Vigne minutely observed all the facts of the Kashmiri people during his stay and his curiosity to know the people was unabating. There is, for instance, an interesting account, nevertheless brief, of the supernatural beings in the folklore:

The *Jins* (geni) are of both sexes and all religions; they are very mischievous, and in the exercise of evil would seem to be almost omnipotent and omnipresent. The *Deyn* are cannibal giants; and the *Ifrites* (elves), who were in attendance once upon Solomon, seem to have been of this nature. The *Yech* is nearly the Satyr of heathen mythology. The *Dyut* is the inhabitant of houses; and to him are attributed all noises, losses and domestic troubles. They are propitiated with food once a year; and would appear to resemble the brownie of the Scottish Highlands.

The *Bram-bram-chuk* is said to be seen in wet and marshy places at night. From its description as a rapidly moving light, it may be pronounced to be a will o' the wisp.

The *Whop* resembled a cat or dog, and resided in old buildings. The *Mushran* appears in the shape of a dirty-looking and very old man, who seizes a person with a parental hug, and produces henceforth a wasting and dangerous decline. The *Ghor*, or *Yech*, is a feeder upon dead bodies.

The *Diegins*, the females of the *Degus*. It is said they often seek husbands among mortals, but that their attachment is productive of fatal consequences, as its object dies in the course of two or three months. The *Dyn*, who is the witch of Europe, will sometimes carry her malignant disposition so far as to eat a man's heart out.

The *Rautus* is the Aal of Afghanistan, perhaps the same as the *Tral*, or fairy of Scandinavia, and the goul of the Persian and Turkish tales. Her feet are reversed and her eyes placed perpendicularly and parallel to the nose.

The *Rikh* is a nondescript female, said to be very handsome; she will entice a man into a snare for the purpose of eating him.

The *Peri* is a being beautiful enough to compensate for all these horrors. Their bodies are made up of the four elements; but five is the predominant ingredient without consuming the rest.... But their amours with a mortal are followed by death from fire.²¹

Although the etymology of the name 'Kashmir' is still a moot point, Vigne's discussion on the issue is very interesting and thought-provoking:

A word or two on the name of the noble province I looked down upon from the *Tukt-i-Suliman* will not be misplaced here. It must have been remarked by many of my readers that the word

Kush is of very common occurrence in the east; we have *Kush* in Mesopotamia and Arabia; Ethiopia was also called *Kush*; and we have Kashmir pronounced rather as *Kushmir* by the natives.

Kashghar is a city in Mogulistan. Chitral is called Little Kashgghar by the Afgans, and the country on the south of the Panjal between, on the north side of the Banihal Pass, is also called *Kush*.²²

Vigne visited all the beautiful spots of the Valley. He not only studied the wonders of nature but also the habits, features, customs and rituals of the Valley, particularly the countryside, nevertheless cursorily. For example, at Shangus, a village near Achhibal, he wrote about a group of dancing girls singing in the vernacular:

The village of Changus, but a few miles from Achibul, was celebrated in times gone by as containing a colony of dancing girls, whose singing and dancing were more celebrated than those of any other part of the Valley. I have heard Sumad Shah and other old men breathe forth sighs of regret, and expressions of admiration, when speaking of days that were past; and the grace and beauty of one of the Changus' *danseuses*, whose name was, I think Lyli, and long since dead, seemed to be quite fresh in their recollection.²³

Vigne has set to music the first line of the song that he heard from the dancing girls; it is certainly the diapason of a 'rof' song. It was the time when the whole of the southern valley was reverberating with the songs of Mahmood Gami, but unfortunately, popular poets of the people were not observed by the European travellers. About Islamabad, he wrote:

There are two slightly warm and sulphurous springs in Islamabad. One rises close to Anant-Nag; the other, a little to the southward, is the largest, and deposits the greatest quantity of sulphur.

There is a mosque in the town, built in memory of Rishi Malu, a saint, to whose prayers in particular the reported defeat of Akbar's first attempts to take Kashmir was attributed.

Islamabad is a Kusabah, or market town. It contains a few houses of shawl-weavers, and handsome saddle-cloths and rugs of various patterns are still manufactured there.²⁴

Vigne entered the Valley through the Mughal Road, and when he reached Huripur, he was warmly received by a concourse of people sent by the Sikh Governor, Mian Singh. He stayed at Shopian for a few days and was greatly exhilarated by the beauty of the landscape, the wooden architecture of the mosque there and the hospitality of the inhabitants. Here is a description of the old town:

The old name of the District in which Shupeyon is situated is Batu. Shupeyon was also called Shahrah, or the King's Highway, and was, I conclude, a name given by the Muguls; the word is probably composed of the Turki word, 'Tsu', water, or the torrent, and 'païen' - below, or beneath, or at the foot of. It is now comparatively speaking, a miserable place, bearing the impress of having once been a thriving town. Its dwellings, now chiefly in ruins, are but the remains of what were once houses, of two or three or four storeys in height, with gable-ends, and sloping roofs of wood. Large sheets of birch bark, which is nearly impervious to moisture, are laid over the rafters, and over these is spread a mixture of earth, which is often planted with flowers. The walls are built of brick, burnt or sun-dried, and secured in a frame of wood, as a prevention against the effect of an earthquake.

In the farmhouses the upper storeys are often

entirely of wood. The windows are rectangular, numerous, and disposed in rows, as in Europe. Exquisitely finished trellis-work, displaying a great variety of Moorish pattern, usurps the place of a window frame: the thin paper of the country is pasted over it, and does duty for glass; so that warmth is thus obtained at the expense of light ...²⁵

The architectural pattern of common houses, that Vigne observed at Shopian, was in fact found in all the major towns of the Valley like Kulgam, Chrar, Shāhabad, Islamabad, Bij Behara, Simbul, Pampur, Sopor, Baramula, Bandipora, Mandwara, Tral, etc. In the countryside, it was markedly different: a common house of a peasant was invariably mud-walled, two-storeyed, housing a cowshed and sheep-pen in one or two rooms on the ground floor, thatch roofed and unventilated; in all respects the basic principle was to retain warmth, to insulate it from the chilly winters, and to insolate it by keeping its front facing the sun.

The Valley has always been under the threat of yearly floods, but as Vigne observed, the major lakes and the connecting canals and floodgates have saved it from total inundation to a large extent.

The City Lake (the Dal), the Manasa Lake, and the Wular or Great Lake, are connected with Jylum, remaining such only because their beds are deeper than that of the river, and subject to decrease as the pass wears away, and to be filled up by the deposits and detritus from the surrounding mountains. Hakrit Sar (the lake of weeds) is also a weedy and extensive morass, in the centre of the valley, separated longitudinally from the river by a dam, but communicating with it by means of canals and flood-gates. Were it not for the dams which confine the river in many places, the lower surface of the valley would be entirely covered in flood-time.²⁶

When Vigne was travelling the villages and towns of the Valley to understand the truth of the land and its people, a German

traveller, Baron Charles Hugel, was also in the Valley with the same motive. In the preface to his travelogue, *Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab* (Eng. tr. Major T. B. Jervis, 1844), Hugel clearly states the principal object of his work, not to investigate who inhabited the "earthly paradise" first, not to seek "the birthplace of some one great individual", not "to search for the favoured spot trodden by the common progenitor of all", but to explore the present state of a country which was strategically of great significance to the British government, and also to study the peculiarities of a nation.

The following pages contain materials for much interesting inquiry on the subject; they were written during a journey which detained me some years from Europe, and as the country of the Sikhs with which Kashmir is now incorporated, must necessarily be frequently introduced to the reader's notice while describing it, I resolved to give some account of a kingdom which, as being the only state of importance adjoining British India, cannot fail to interest Europe in general.

After getting a formal 'perwana' from Ranjit Singh of Punjab, he set out on the 10th October 1838, on his long and cumbersome journey to Kashmir, an annexed state of the Sikh Empire. He entered the Valley through Hirpoor (Shopian) where he met a Kashmiri singer who sang to him for one full night. Before entering Srinagar, he received a letter from Vigne that he was there in the Valley as an agent of the East India Company. In Srinagar, he was greeted by Kashmiri women by 'wanwun'. Besides Vigne, he also met Dr. John Henderson and on his request, they agreed to remain with him during their stay. They were provided with accommodation at Baghi Dilawar Khan, which was then a beautiful garden. The three Europeans did a lot of travelling together and had a boat journey from Srinagar to Islamabad. About Islamabad he wrote:

According to Badia-ud Din, Anantnag was built by the second King of Kashmir, Kasaligham, 3700

years B.C., an ante-diluvian city!.... About the fifteenth century the name Anantnag was changed into that of Islamabad, City of the Faith.²⁸

On the 27th November, they returned to Srinagar at Baghi Dilawar Khan. They were state guests and a well-known citizen, Mohamad Shah Nakshbandi, was appointed to look after the arrangements for their safe and happy sojourn in the Valley. He deputed his employees, particularly one Samad Shah, to attend them day and night, so that they had no complaints. They were entertained by shows of Kashmiri dancing girls accompanied by musicians, duennas and divers males. Hugel did not like the presence of the latter.

Just before it was dark, a number of the Kashmirian beauties made their appearance accompanied by musicians, duennas and divers hideous wretches who usually attend on them, and whose monstrous ugliness makes the features of the dancers, who are almost invariably unsightly in appearance, shew off to greater advantage.²⁹

In fact, Baron C. Hugel, notwithstanding his objectivity in studying the Kashmir situation in the apathetic and unscrupulous Sikh rule, had nothing good to speak about the Kashmiri people. He admitted in the preface of the book, that "changes of government which have taken place in Kashmir must have materially affected many original characteristics of the people", but he was rather unrealistic while commenting on the character and of the Kashmiris. Nevertheless, his travelogue throws much light on the Kashmiri under the Sikh rule. Before leaving the Valley proper for Muzaffarabad and then Lahore, he got an inscription engraved on a huge marble stone which he proposed to set up on the Char Chinari Island:

Three travellers in Kashmir on the 18th November, 1935, the Baron Ch. Hugel, from Jammu; Th. G. Vigne, from Iskardu; and Dr John Henderson, from Ladakh, have caused the names of all the travellers who have preceded them in

Kashmir to be engraven on this stone.

Bernier, 1663, Forster, 1786, Moorcroft, Guthrie and Trebeck, 1823, Victor Jacquemont, 1831, Joseph Wolff, 1832.

Two only of all these, the first and the last, ever returned to their native country.³⁰

Jacquemont, a French traveller, and Joseph Wolff, a missionary traveller, visited Kashmir, but there is hardly anything known about their engagements and experiences in the Valley. However, Wolff has recorded his observations on Central Asia in a small book which does not throw any light on early nineteenth century Kashmir. In a sense, he was a pioneer missionary who stimulated other Christian zealots to propagate the teachings of the Bible in the Himalayan habitations.

During the twenty-seven years of Sikh rule (1819-1847), Kashmir was governed by ten governors appointed by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Out of these ten, Colonel Mian Singh was the most popular with the masses. Only two of the governors of the Sikh regime were Muslims, namely, Sheikh Ghulam Mohi-ud Din and his son, Sheikh Imam-ud Din. The latter was a learned man who was conscious of Kashmir's subjugation. When the Sikh power entered its final phase of disintegration in Punjab after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1839, Sheikh Imam-ud Din, who was appointed Governor in 1845, declared the independence of Kashmir. Since there was chaos and confusion in the Valley and the rising power of Ghulab Singh of Jammu was an imminent threat, he could not save Kashmir's independence. The British had already been warring with the Sikhs, and Ghulab Singh was eager to annex Kashmir to his Dogra kingdom. All the events culminated in the fall of the Sikh Kingdom and the Treaty of Amritsar on the 16th March, 1896, according to which Kashmir and all the rest of "the hilly or mountainous country, with its dependencies, situated to the eastward of the river Indus, and westward of the river Ravi" were handed over to Maharaja Ghulab Singh "and the heirs male of his body" for an amount of "seventy-five lacs of rupees (Nanakshahi)".

Sheikh Imam-ud Din, with the help of Khakhas and Bombas,

opposed the forces of Ghulab Singh in the outskirts of Srinagar, but he had to surrender Srinagar to the mighty forces, and to the mediation of Sir Henry Lawrence, in charge of Kashmir affairs, also advised him to do so. Ghulab Singh quelled all other rebellions, particularly in Gilgit and spent most of his time in Srinagar to ameliorate the condition of the masses and to win their support.

With the return of peace and the opening up of new prospects for trans-Himalayan activities of the British, European visitors with a variety of motives and interests began to visit Kashmir regularly. Five years after the Amritsar Treaty, in 1959, a military officer was permanently posted by the British Indian Government to function as a referee in Kashmir. His designation was Officer-on-Special Duty which was later changed to the Resident. The Dogra rulers gave topmost priority to develop tourist resorts like Gulmarg, Pahalgam, Dachchigam and the Dal. A section of the Indian Government was interested in allowing the Europeans to acquire land in Kashmir, but the Dogra rulers strongly opposed the idea. The Resident in Kashmir also supported the Government of Kashmir in not allowing the British Government to make Kashmir their permanent home.

The British were conscious of the strategic importance of Kashmir and the adjoining mountainous terrain in their policy to resist the expansionist Tsarist Empire, and in this direction several European travellers had already conducted several surveys in realising the importance of Kashmir in the Central Asia, and their opinion was vindicated by the growing interference of the Russians in Afghanistan. Sir E. G. Golvin, Resident in Kashmir, wrote in his book, *Brief History of Kashmir*:

.... But Lord Hardinge, Governor General, considered the occupation of the whole of this territory inadvisable as it would largely increase the extent of our frontier and the military establishment for guarding it. The districts in question, with the exception of the comparatively small Valley of Kashmir, were for the most part unproductive and unlikely to pay the cost of occupation and management. On the other hand, the ceded tract comprising the whole of the hereditary possession of Gulab Singh, who being

unnaturally eager to obtain an indefeasible title to them, came forward and offered to pay the war indemnity if constituted independent ruler of Jammu and Kashmir. It was recognised that the transfer of these two provinces to Gulab Singh would materially weaken the Sikh Power, secure the war indemnity and form a pleasing recompense to Gulab Singh whom the British wished to reward for his conduct and services.³¹

After Ghulab Singh's death (1857), the British Government of India continued their support to Ranbir Singh, but warily, with an element of doubt in his designs. They did not approve of his sending troops across the Karakoram nor his plans to establish commercial relations with the Central Asian States; the British had their own designs of politico-economic penetration into the region and Kashmir was deemed to be of vital importance in realising those designs. The British Government used the Maharaja in crushing the rebellions in Gilgit, Chitral and other north-western mountainous regions, and with his help, they were able to appoint a British Joint Commissioner at Leh. Again it was with the help of the Maharaja that they were able to make the Mehtar of Chitral accept the suzerainty of the Maharaja. Thus they succeeded in stopping the Tsarist Russia from occupying the whole of Central Asia.

There were a number of European missionaries and travellers who shared in the suffering of the Kashmiris and desired to elevate them from depravity and the sense of humiliation for having been 'sold' for seventy-five lacs to an alien king. Arthur Brinckman (Kashmir 1866) and Robert Thorp vehemently censured their British Government for signing the notorious Treaty of Amritsar. Arthur Brinckman, a missionary, who visited the Valley, wrote in the preface of his pamphlet, *The Wrongs of Kashmir*:

.... But grieving for Cashmere does not help it; sympathy and no assistance is of no use. The pamphlet is badly written, but with the Appendix, it informs the reader of the wretched condition of a beautiful country we threw away, of the misery

of people we sold against their inclination, and of their united cry to us, to set them free once more.³²

In the pamphlet, he has made it clear that he had no personal animosity against the Rajah, and that he saw it as a blur on the British Government "that Cashmir and its people were sold by us to Ghulab Singh for 7,500,000 rupees in 1846". The Rajah, as he saw it during his mission in the Valley, was "a puppet in the hands of his diwans" and could not do anything for the betterment of Kashmiris.

The Rajah, poor man, is responsible, next to us, for all the misrule of Cashmere. Ten years have proved him utterly unfit to govern the country.... There is no remedy but immediate annexation, and the annexation ought to take place at once.³³

Brinckman made fifty-one assertions and remarks in support of his proposal. He believed that the British should not have sent their troops across Kashmir to defend the Rajah from his enemies and the expansionist Tsarist Russia; if the treaty, on the other hand, had been signed to make the Raja fight Russia, then it would have been better for the British to have done so by their own force. He foresaw that Russia could easily "win over the Rajah or sweep him away, as the great hindrance to commerce in Central Asia is the Cashmere Government". Citing the example of Afghanistan under Shah Sooja as an ally of the British Government, he pleaded that a buffer state with full independence could work as a better buffer against the invading force of Russia.

Robert Thorpe, the son of K. Thorpe, who had married Laina, the daughter of Daim Thakhur of Kishtawar, was perhaps the most pronounced critic of the Dogra rule and an ardent friend of the subjugated Kashmiris. He contributed scathing articles to various Anglo-Indian papers against the tyranny of the Dogra rule with the hope that such communications would be of interest to those -

.... who can feel pity for the undeserved sufferings of men, and disgust and indignation at the spectacle of a people whose characteristics (both

intellectual and moral) give evidence of former greatness, trampled upon by a race in every way inferior to themselves, and steadily deteriorating under the influence of an oppressive despotism which bars the way to all improvement, whether social, intellectual, or religious.³⁴

Giving a detailed account of the oppression of the people by the Government of the Maharaja, he explains how the toiling masses are exploited by the *Zamindars* through various ruthless official agents like the *Tehsildar*, the *Thanedars*, the *Kardars*, the *Patwarees*, the *Shugdur*, the *Sur-gowls*, the *Taroughdars*, the *Zurkars* and the *Doombs*. All these officials, in a hierarchical system, left the peasants in a famished condition bereft of all human grace. (A vivid picture of the hapless peasantry is found in a nineteenth century satiric poem *Gryisnaama* of Maqbool Shah Kralavari.) The plight of shawl-bafs and other artisans was in no way better than that of the woeful peasants. Here is a gruesome picture of the corvee peasants travailing on the perilous paths over "precipitous slopes of rock, upon whose edge sits the avalanche waiting for his prey":

Through such scenes, heavily laden, the *Zemindars* make their way. Powerful and hardy are the sons of Cashmir; patiently they toil onwards through the drifting snow, in the name of Allah and his Prophet! Many encourage each other with words of hope: it may be that they will yet reach the other side in safety. Alas, no! From two or three, the strength is already departing, and the keen wind is paralysing the sinews.³⁵

As a result of this scathing criticism, Robert Thorp became an eyesore for the Dogras and their lakeys, and after much harrassment, he was surreptitiously killed near Dalgate. His grave in the Christian cemetery at Sheikha Bagh, Srinagar, bears the following inscription:

Robert Thorp

Aged 30 years

Obit.

22nd Nov. 1868

Veritas

He gave his life for Kashmir

The British control over Kashmir was further strengthened when after Rabil Singh's death in 1885, British Residency was established in Srinagar. The purpose of the Residency was not only to assist and supervise administrative reforms in Jammu and Kashmir, but also in view of "the increasing importance to the Government of India of watching events beyond the North Western frontiers of Kashmir". The first Resident, Sir Oliver St. John was appointed in 1885, and he was succeeded by C. Plowden in 1888.

During this period, when the British control over Kashmir was firmly established, and there was improvement in the condition of the roads, the number of European visitors increased considerably. Most of these visitors were mainly interested in having a pleasure trip or expedition in the Earthly Paradise, but many of them devoted their time and competence in various humanitarian and missionary activities, and some of them remained engaged in studying various aspects of the land and its people.

One of the most significant events that took place in the middle of the nineteenth century was the spread of modern education through Christian missionaries. For several centuries before this event, education in Kashmir had remained the prerogative of the nobles and the clergy. The traditional *tsatahals* or private schools run by dedicated 'Aakhooons' and Pandits were merely interested in imparting workable literacy in Persian through *Gulistan* and *Bostan*, the two Persian classics, the Quran to the Mohammedans and Sharda to Hindus. However, there was an ancient tradition of calligraphy in Kashmir, for which it was quite famous. The Pandits of the Valley, whose ancestral profession was to keep records or accounts, or to perform general office work, gave literacy topmost priority. Charles Girdlestone wrote in his Memo on Kashmir:

The Pandits, a common term in Cashmîere for Brahmins, are the only persons who give much

heed to education, and in their case, study is generally prompted by the hope of office, they being the class on whom the Government and the merchants depend for clerks and accountants, or because, in a certain family the profession of teaching is hereditary.³⁶

Maharaja Rabir Singh was personally interested in widening the field of education and making it open to all, and in 1874, the first government school, called the Srinagar School, was established. George Bühler writes about this school in his *Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit MSS*:

He (the Maharaja) was good enough to take me to his Muddrissa and to allow me to examine some of the pupils in his presence. The active manner in which he took part in the examination showed that he was well-acquainted with the subjects taught, and that he took a real interest in the work of education. The Muddrissa which is the chief education institution in Kashmir, contains besides a Sanskrit College where poetry, poetics, grammar and philosophy are studied.... Mathematics also are taught, according to a Dogra translation of *Lilavati*.... I examined several classes in Sanskrit, Euclid, and algebra, and most of the boys did very fairly.³⁷

At that time, Major Henderson was the Political Resident in Kashmir. Since the Residents were not interested in the spread of modern education in Kashmir, the missionaries active in the Valley were conscious of the importance of imparting education to common folks for the success of their mission. Their struggle achieved a milestone when they established the Mission School under the patronage of J. S. Doxey. After Doxey, the school was administered by J. Hinton Knowles; and then in 1892 the charge of the school was handed over to C.E. Tyndale-Biscoe, who organised the school according to his best competence and emancipated notions of modern education. He laid much emphasis on technical education, physical education, hygiene and health. He knew that

Kashmiris have a natural potential in art and craft, and modern education should be compatible with the natural propensities of the people. Lawrence too wrote in 1895 in his report:

Kashmiris have artistic instincts and are famous for their skills in art manufactures. Nature has been bountiful in furnishing raw material for arts and manufacturers, but owing to the want of technical instruction, the excellent fibres, willows, leather, and clay of the Valley are practically wasted. I know of no place where technical education would succeed better than in Srinagar.³⁸

Education was considered the dominion of males, and the women of Kashmir received their education for the first time in 1893, when a separate wing of the Mission School was established for female children under the supervision of Miss Hull, an enthusiastic missionary.

Muslims of Srinagar took a lead in sending their girls to the school, and the school was popularly known as the Purdah School. Branches of the girls' school were established at Islamabad and also at Baramulla. The women who played a leading role in popularising education among Kashmiri women are Irene Eleanor Verita Petrie (died at Leh in 1897), Miss Churchill Taylor, Miss Stubbs, Miss Goodel, Miss Fitze, Miss Fanny Butler and Miss Mallinson. Among these women missionaries, Miss Mallinson played an epoch-making role from 1922 to 1962, and her school was named after her, one of the best and the largest schools of the Valley.

By the year 1901, the number of schools reached thirty-six, comprising one High School at Srinagar, 16 Primary Schools in various towns of the Valley, and 19 primary *muddrassas* at the primary level. It was as late as the year 1905 that the first college affiliated to the Banaras Hindu University was established in Srinagar and the credit goes to Dr. Anne Besant, who persuaded Maharaja Pratap Singh in this direction and came personally to inaugurate it. The foundation stone of the building was laid on the 7th July, 1906, when Dr. Anne Besant was the chief guest to speak on the occasion.

The Mohammadans, who showed enthusiasm in sending their girls to modern schools, lagged behind in availing themselves of the

almost free educational facilities. It was not merely the Mohammadans' doubt in the designs of Christian missionaries, but primarily because of their economic constraints; they, unlike the Hindus of the Valley, were artisans, peasants, working in various humble professions, and as such, preferred to send their children to work to eke out income for the family's alimentation. In 1916, Mr. H. Sharp, the Educational Commissioner, who advocated free education and a primary school for every village with a population of 500 or above, made his recommendations for the augmentation and popularisation of education among Kashmiri Muslims by aiding the Islamia High School, granting scholarships to boys and girls, granting aid to traditional *maktabas*, and other measures.

The Christian Missionaries also ameliorated Kashmiris by establishing dispensaries and hospitals for them. The Kashmiris had their age-old system of medicine practised by Hakims who relied on various medicinal plants, barbers, leech-operators, and bone-setters and most often practised superstitious methods to cure their patients. The European doctors had to face a lot of resistance in motivating people to adopt a modern, European system of medicine.

John Martin Honigberger, physician to the court of Lahore, visited Kashmir in 1849. He prepared a herbarium vivum and wrote his famous treatise *Flora Medica Cashmereana* during his short stay in the Valley. He had already travelled almost the whole world and was famous for his treatment of hydrophobia, plague, cholera and for popularising vaccination against smallpox. Maharaja Ghulab Singh, who was suffering from dropsy, was also treated by Dr. Honigberger. In Kashmir, he was immediately popular among the masses. He wrote in his book *Thirty-five Years in the East*:

For two months, there were not less than a hundred persons daily, to solicit my assistance: I accorded it to them gratuitously; and from their incessant attendance, I was not only compelled to expand the whole of the day in distributing medicaments, which were administered in the form of lozenges, but was also obliged to devote my evenings to the preparation of those which were to be used on the day following.³⁹

He experimented with the local herbal medicines and was surprised to find their great efficacy:

I was, however, to a great extent, repaid for the labour to which I was thus subjected, by being able to make many experiments, and thus practically convince myself of the medicinal efficacy of the plants and drugs of Cashmere, which were those I principally tried there. I had also the opportunity of introducing operations which had been hitherto unknown in the country; as for instance, tapping in a case of dropsy, which I performed in the presence of the Maharaja and several others ⁴⁰

Dr. Honigberger left Kashmir in September 1848 with a resolve to return and continue his research and mission.

In 1854, Robert Clark and Colonel Martin visited Kashmir. Robert Clark persuaded the Church Missionary Society to establish a Mission in Kashmir. As a result of his perseverance, a dispensary for women was instituted at Srinagar, near the present day Government Women's College. Seeing the success of the Mission, the Christian Missionary Society appointed Dr. Elmslie as the first Medical Missionary in Kashmir in 1865. In 1867, when there was a great outbreak of cholera in the Valley, Dr. Elmslie accorded day and night service to the suffering humanity.

Soon, a permanent hospital was established at the foot of Sankaracarya Hill. Dr. Edmund Downes arrived in 1877, and then came Dr. Arthur Neve in 1882. A large scale programme of general vaccination was launched to irradicate smallpox which had been contracted by the whole of the population of Kashmir. It goes to the credit of the Christian Missionaries that a women's hospital was established at Islamabad in 1903, and a network of dispensaries was set up in almost all the major towns of the Valley. Three ladies deserve a special mention here for their dedication and hardwork, and for lessening the pain of the suffering Kashmiri masses. One was Irene Eleanora Verita Petrie "of the Church Missionary Society, youngest daughter of Colonel Martin Petrie, who gave herself to the evangelisation of Kashmir in 1894, and rested from her labour in the morning of her life at Leh, in Tibet

on August 6th" 1897. (From an inscription on tablet in St. Mary Abbot's Parish Church, Kensington.) Before she joined the Church Missionary Society, there were other women already busy in their work. She was much impressed by their missionary zeal and hard work. She wrote, "All are thoroughly overworked, yet quite unable to cope with the work waiting for them". Miss Fanny Jane Butler, Miss Elizabeth G. Hull, Miss Coverdale, Miss Rainsford, Miss Newman, Miss Pryce Browne, Mrs. Bishop (Isabella Biord), Miss Neve, Miss Newnham and others are some of these noble women. On her joining the Church Missionary Society in Kashmir, Miss Hull wrote in *India's Women*:

It was with great thankfulness that we welcomed Miss Petrie just before Miss Coverdale left. Her offer to stay and work here was a much desired but unexpected blessing.⁴¹

Among the women missionaries, Fanny Butler was the most popular doctor in Kashmir. Mark L. G. Wilson wrote about her:

For ten long years, the Kashmiri women, who wept bitterly for their 'doctor Miss Sahib', waited for such another to minister to their suffering.⁴²

Summing up the Christian missionary activities in Kashmir, Mark L. G. Carus Wilson (1900) wrote:

.... we may recognise four departments of it, associating each with the name of one missionary: (1) *Evangelistic and Pastoral*, preaching in city bazaars and in villages, and caring for converts: Rev. J. H. Knowles, (2) *Medical*, mainly among Mohanmedans - i.e. the poorer people: Dr. Neve. (3) *Educational*, mainly among Hindus - i.e. the well-to-do people: Rev. C. E. Tyndale-Biscoe. (4) *Zenana*, wholly among women, both Hindus and Mohammedans, and especially among well-to-do Hindus: Miss Hull.⁴³

When the British hold on Kashmir was strengthened, the number of European visitors also increased, and there were several specialists among them who engaged themselves, or were appointed by the Government in exploring various aspects of Kashmir, like geology, geography, flora and fauna, society, history, language and literature. The scholars whose work is of a pioneering nature and remains unrivalled to date are: Alexander Cunningham, Frederick Drew, Richard Lydekker, Dr. G. Bühler, G. W. Leitner, T. R. Wade, Dr. Elmslie, J. H. Knowles, Richard Temple, M. A. Stein, Walter Lawrence, George Grierson and K. F. Burkhard.

Alexander Cunningham, who is considered to be the "greatest of Indian antiquarians" (Lawrence), visited Kashmir in the nineteen-thirties and undertook an archaeological survey of Kashmir. His report is included in *Archaeological Report - 1833 to 1834, Vol. 23*. He also wrote *Coins of Medieval India*. About the grace and beauty of Kashmiri architecture, Cunningham wrote:

The architectural remains of Kashmir are perhaps the most remarkable of the existing monuments of India, as they exhibit undoubtedly traces of the influence of Grecian art. The Hindu temple is generally a sort of architectural pasty, a huge collection of ornamental fritters huddled together, either with or without keeping, while the Jain temple is usually a vast forest of pillars, made to look as unlike one another as possible by some paltry differences in their pretty details. On the other hand, the Kashmiri fanes are distinguished by the graceful elegance of their outlines, by the massive boldness of their parts, and by the happy propriety of their decorations.⁴⁴

Frederick Drew for the first time, accomplished a geographical survey of the then Jammu and Kashmir as a sovereign state under the Dogra rule. His book based on his findings, *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories. A Geographical Account* (1875) is a compendium of information about the land and its inhabitants. Besides maps, diagrams, plans and tables, it also contains ethnographic and linguistic information, and a folded map of the country with minute details. While Drew remained in the Valley,

he keenly observed the people and their life-style and habitat. About the Kashmiri people he wrote:

The Kashmir people are doubtless physically the finest of all the races that inhabit the territories we are dealing with, and I have not much hesitation in saying that in size and in features, they are the finest race on the whole continent of India. Their physique, their character, and their language are so marked as to produce a nationality different from all around, as distinct from their neighbours as their country is geographically separated In intellect they are superior to their neighbours, they are certainly keener than Panjabis, and in perception, and clearness of mind and ingenuity, they far outlive their masters, the Dogras. In disposition they are talkative, cheerful and humorous.⁴⁵

Richard Lydekkar, a geologist, made a geological survey of the Jammu and Kashmir state under the programme *Geological Survey of India*. His stupendous work deals with a huge hilly terrain about 68,000 square miles; the Valley formed a small part of this enormous territory. In 1883, he wrote his memoir which was published under the title *The Geology of the Kashmir and Chamba Territories and the British District of Khágán*. The portion dealing with Kashmir includes a study of lakes, caverns, glaciation, igneous action, alluvial system, Zanskar system, the Pánjál system, metamorphic system, and the economic geology of the Valley.

About the geological formation of the Valley, Lydekkar wrote:

It may be observed in the first place that the Kashmir valley is distinctly basin shaped, and that it has a length of about eighty-four and a width of varying from twenty to twenty-five miles. The lowest point in the Valley has an elevation of 5,200 feet, and the mean elevation is 6,000 feet above the sea. In its course the river Jhelum, below the town of Islamabad flows through a plain of low level recent alluvium: the width of this

plain varies from two to fifteen miles.... On the borders of this great plain of alluvium, or forming islands within it, there occur extensive elevated plateaus of alluvial or lacustrine material, which occupy a great portion of the valley, and to which the local name Karéwá is applied, a name which has been generally adopted for the deposits.... In the central parts of the Valley, the Karéwás consist chiefly of loam or loamy clay, with but faint indication of stratification and with level surfaces. They are divided from each other, sometimes cut into strips, so to say, by ravines of from 100 to 300 feet in depth.... Karéwás and their dividing ravines, occupy a width varying from eight to sixteen miles along the south-western side of the Valley, for a length of about fifty miles from near Shupiyon to the river flat between Sopur and Bárámúlá. Beyond Sopur again the north-western end of the Valley is mostly Karéwá ground.... On the south-western side of the valley, the Karéwás reach upward to an elevation of about 6,500 feet or 1,300 feet above the lowest part of the plain of the river alluvium.... At the mouth of the Sind valley, on the north-eastern side of Kashmir, there are thick deposits of conglomerates, sand and gravel, with a slight inclination towards the centre of the Valley of Kashmir.... In the first place, it appears that the great development of the conglomerates exists on the present line of drainage; thus they are in great force at Hirpur, on the stream flowing from the Pir-Pánjál pass; again at Bárámúlá, on the Jhelum, where it flows out of the valley at the mouth of the Sind river, and at Islamabad on the Lidder.... The second point is the lower boundary of the Valley of Kashmir. At the present time the Jhelum makes its exit from the valley through a narrow rocky gorge or a short distance below the fort of Bárámúlá. This, however, does not appear to have been the original exit from the valley, since

to the left (south east) of the present gorge there is first a hill of slate and then a long high ridge of tilted lower Karéwá deposits, over which the road passes, which blocks another gap and forms the present boundary of the valley.... The open plain which occurs below this ridge of lower Karéwá would, in the absence of the latter, form part of Kashmir proper. There are traces of these deposits for some miles below Bárámúlá ridge.⁴⁶

Summoning up this discussion, Lydekker concluded:

It will be at once apparent from the foregoing remarks that until the depth of the lower Karéwá of the Bárámúlá ridge is known, it is impossible to say whether the Valley of Kashmir is a true rock basin, or a blocked river-valley, but in the opinion of the author it is most probably the latter.⁴⁷

Before Lydekker, Colonel Godwin-Austin and Frederick Drew had reached the same conclusion after their individual geological surveys. In 1893, R. T. Oldham (*Manual of the Geology of India, second edition*), argued with his predecessors in this direction and opined about the origin of the Valley:

.... This rock basin was probably gradually formed by a deformation of the earth's crust, and the hollow so produced was filled up almost, if not quite, as soon as formed. At the present day, true lacustrine deposits are being formed in those places on the northern limit of the valley where, owing to a deficiency of deposition, hollows have been left in which water has accumulated, and it is probable that the conditions have been much the same as at present, throughout the geological history of the Kashmir valley, and that a minor area of true lacustrine deposits has been accompanied by a greater area where subaërial accumulation of sediment has been in progress.⁴⁸

In 1889, La Touche studied the economic geology and wrote about the rich mineral deposits in the Valley which could be profitably exploited. Some of the minerals found in the Valley are: peat (*demb tsakh*), sulphur, gold (in the Wasatarwan mountains), copper (near Aishmakam), iron (near Sof), saltpetre, gypsum, limestone, building stones, slate, clay, precious stones, marble, etc.

In 1866, G. W. Leitner began his long and tortuous journey across the north-western mountainous regions, commonly known as Dardistan, like Gilgit, Chilas, Yasin, Chitral, Hunza, Nagyr and other parts of Hindu Kush. His memoirs were published under four titles: *Results of a tour in Dardistan* (1877), *The Languages and Races of Dardistan* (1879), *The Hunza-Nagyr Handbook* (1889), and *Dardistan in 1866, 1886 and 1893*. His studies on the history, religion, social customs, rituals, games, fables and songs of Dardistan are of great importance in ethnography and anthropology. The books are indispensable when studying the origin of Kashmiri people and their language.

Dr. G. Bühler started his tour in search of Sanskrit manuscripts in 1875, and reached Kashmir on the 11th August of the same year. Being well versed in Sanskrit, Bühler could easily discuss various aspects of Sanskrit literature with the local *pandits*, particularly Pandit Dayaram. With the intention of verifying the truth of Sanskrit texts, for instance, Bilhana's *Vikramankacharita* or Kalhana's *Rajatarangani*, he visited first of all Khonmoh, a village near Pandrenthan. "I was greatly struck with the faithfulness of his (Bilhana's) memory and the appropriateness of his description," Bühler wrote.

Since the Maharaja had ordered that the possessors of the manuscripts should extend every manner of help to Dr. Bühler, he procured, inter alia, within a few days after his arrival, two copies of Kalhana's *Rajatarangani* in Sharda. The pandits whose assistance and suggestions he mentions with gratitude are Pt. Dayaram Jotshi, Pt. Govind Koul and Lal Pandit. The introductory chapter of *Kashmir, Personal Narrative* among other things, contains an interesting etymological discussion on the names of all those places that he visited. He left the Valley in October after having possessed as many as three hundred manuscripts. On his request, he persuaded Munshi Yar Mohamad, "who had studied Kashmiri in a scholarly manner" and who was a close associate of Dr. Elmslie, to accompany him to Bombay. Bühler learnt Kashmiri

from him, as a result of which he could write a brief phonological and grammatical sketch of Kashmiri, contained in his book.

While discussing the contents of various manuscripts found in Kashmir, Bühler discussed the salient features and schools of Kashmir Saivism. He recognised two distinct schools of this ancient philosophy: (1) *spandasāstra* of Vasugupta (A.D. 854), and (2) *Pratyabhijñāsastra* of Somananda (beginning of the tenth century).

Bühler quotes the following lines from Professor Gough's prefatory note to his translation of *Saivadarśana*:

The Saivas have a considerable resemblance to the Theistic Sāṅkhya; they hold that God, souls and matter, are from eternity distinct entities, and the object of philosophy is to disunite the soul from matter, and gradually to unite it to God. Siva is the chief deity of the system, and the relation of the three is quaintly expressed by the allegory of a beast, its fetters and its owner.⁴⁹

Bühler believed that Vasugupta was not the founder of Saivism, but a commentator who changed some of its doctrines. Utpala, belonging to the first half of the tenth century, further explained the system of thought in his *Spandaprādīpika*. Other commentators of *spandasāstra* are: Rāmakantha (tenth century), Kshemendra and Bhaskara (eleventh century).

About the second school Pratyābhijñā, meaning 'Recognition', Bühler says that it is older than the end of the ninth century A.D., and that its resemblance to Sankarāchāryā's doctrines cannot be accidental. Bühler says that Kashmiris believe that the great Achārya of the South came to Kashmir and was vanquished in a disputation by the chief exponent of the Pratyābhijñā doctrine, Abhinavagupta (the last quarter of the tenth century) who is undoubtedly the greatest philosopher and aesthetician of medieval Kashmir.

Bühler's *Report* also includes a brief grammatical sketch of the Kashmiri language in which he has given a cursory description of Kashmiri phonemes and various cases.

In Appendix II, Bühler gives extracts from manuscripts purchased in 1875 - 76 and a translation of the first 107 *shatokās* of Kalhanā's *Rājatarangini*.

Walter Lawrence, the author of the monumental book on Kashmir, *The Valley of Kashmir*, is the most popular European of Kashmir, whose work for the welfare of Kashmiri people remains unrivalled. After passing his Indian Civil Service Examination in 1877, he was deputed as the Settlement Commissioner of Kashmir in April 1889 to replace the first Settlement Officer, A. Wingate. The notion of Occupancy Rights or *assami* was introduced by Lawrence as the first step towards conferring the possession of land to the tillers. He appointed *Patwaris* as regular officials and the *Lamberdars* as government agents. Lawrence also played a great role in ridding the hapless Kashmiris from the age-old curse of the corvée, called *begār* in the vernacular. In his report, Lawrence expressed his shock and anguish to see the depraved condition of Kashmiri peasantry. He wrote:

The power enjoyed by the officials under the system *mujwaza*, in virtue of which they could deprive a village of the year's food stocks, was great, but not so great as the power wielded by them in the levy of *begār* or forced labour.

Gilgit to the Kashmiri is a constant terror, and when it was rumoured that transport was wanted to convey the baggage of the troops going to or coming from Gilgit, there was a general stampede among the villagers. I have seen whole villages bivouacking on the mountains when the agents for the collection of transport arrived in their *tehsil*, and I have seen human punishment dealt out to men who demurred to leaving their homes for two or three months with the prospect of death from cold or starvation.⁵⁰

The *begār* system was finally abolished in 1891. And it was on the recommendation of Lawrence that the Maharaja remitted all the arrears of land revenue in 1896.

Lawrence became a part of Kashmiri folklore and he was called 'Láran Seeb' by Kashmiris. He learnt the language of the people and tried to think and feel as they did. Pir Hassan Shah, the renowned historian, and a steadfast friend of Lawrence, helped him

learn Kashmiri. (The Valley, p. 454) He enjoyed having parleys with the simple rustics, uncouth hillbillies, and the clodhoppers, listening to their tales of gloom and gleam, and learning from them about the flora and fauna of the land.

In 1896, Lawrence left the Valley after writing fifteen reports that he submitted to the Government. He was appointed as the Private Secretary to the Viceroy of India, Lord Curzon. After his retirement, he returned to England where he nostalgically remained pondering over his meaningful days in the happy valley, and finalising his prodigious work, *The Valley of Kashmir*. Meanwhile, he wrote another book, *India We Served*.

The Valley of Kashmir remains unparalleled in its scope and depth of study, and in presenting encyclopaedic information about the land and its people. Comprising 478 pages, divided into 19 chapters, it includes 17 photographs depicting nineteenth century Kashmir in a live manner. Here are a few remarks of his about the Kashmiris:

Kashmir is a very old country, and its people are very old-fashioned. Those who have studied the history of Kashmir say that the people have not changed much since the times of ancient Hindu kings. This is quite possible, but I think that many of the hard things said about the Kashmiris are due to the fact that the *official interpreters* of their character have been foreigners, often grasping and corrupt, always unsympathetic. Mughal Subahs, Pathan Sirdars, Sikh and Dogra Governors dismissed all difficulties of administration, and all humane suggestions emanating from their masters, with the remark that the Kashmiris were dishonest, treacherous and *zulm parst*.⁵¹

This great benefactor of Kashmir died on the 27th May, 1940, in London.

While Lawrence was engrossed in his work to redeem Kashmiri peasantry from unceasing exactions and tyranny of the ruthless officials and rulers, Sir Mark Aurel Stein, a profound scholar in Sanskrit and orientalism, studied the political history, folklore and the language of the people. He came to Kashmir in 1888, procured

a manuscript of *Raajtarangani* and translated it, and wrote an exhaustive commentary on its contents. In collaboration with the local scholars like Pandit Ram Chand, Bali, Pandit Govind Koul, and others, he succeeded in writing some more books of great importance. *Hatim's Tales* (1910) is a collection of folk-stories that he compiled verbatim as he listened to them from a professional story-teller, namely, Hatim Tilwoony of Panzal (Lar). Pandit Govind Koul assisted him in recording the text and George A. Grierson later on translated them and edited them with linguistic analysis, vocabulary and indexes. William Crook, the author of the monumental book *The Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (1894), wrote a detailed introduction to the tales with their comparative analysis with similar stories of the world. The collection includes, among other things, a beautiful poem of a popular poet, Saabir Tilwoony (of Panzal, Lar?), *Yarqand anón zénán*, which depicts the tyranny of corvee in the Dogra period.

Stein also wrote *A Kashmiri - English Dictionary* (the manuscript is not traceable), *Identification of Parihaspura* (1915), *A Note on Kashmiri Monuments* (1915) and *Ancient Geography of Kashmir* (1900). After accomplishing all these works, Stein died in 1943 and was buried in Kabul.

J. Hinton Knowles, who was associated with the evangelistic and pastoral activities of the Church Missionary Society in Kashmir, accomplished an everlasting work by translating sixty-four folk tales of Kashmir which were published under the title *Folk Tales of Kashmir* in 1893. The anthology is made more meaningful by the translator's notes and a glossary. The collection of tales is a fine piece of literature for its lucid and perspicuous style and a work of great antiquarian importance.

The notes to the Tales, among other things, indicate parallel tales in various languages and, as such, are of much value to scholars interested in a comparative study of myth and legend. The notes also throw some light on the past history of the Valley. Here is, for instance, a note on the famous tale, *Nágray and Himál*:

In the Valley there are a large number of small streams of water, to which a mysterious origin has been attributed by the people; generally a snake is believed to have its abode in or by the spring. A few miles beyond Pámpur is one of these springs,

close by which is a tank with a round building in the middle for the snake's abode. There is a spring on the *Takht* in Sulaiman, which is said to have been deserted by its snake.⁵²

Another work by the same author which is important, both for the linguistic as well as the cultural anthropologist is *A Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs and Sayings* (1885). Each entry is explained in the light of the folklore of the Valley.

It is important to mention here that compilation of dictionaries was already undertaken by Dr. Elmslie in 1870, "which has been of the greatest value to his missionary successors", writes Mark L. G. Carus Wilson. The dictionary, or rather the glossary, was published in two parts: *Kashmiri - English* and *English - Kashmiri* (London, 1872). T. R. Wade wrote his *A Grammar of the Kashmiri Language* (1888) which is sketchy but interesting.

However, the field of language and literature was left to be explored comprehensively and systematically by a profound scholar, George A. Grierson (1850, Dublin - 1941). He came to India in 1873 and was elected as the Honorary Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. He was entrusted with the linguistic survey of India, and in this connection, he stayed for several years in the Valley of Kashmir. In Kashmir, he lived as a Kashmiri and had an intimate rapport with the people, particularly some scholars like Pandit Govind Koul, Pandit Isvar Koul and Pandit Mukand Ram Shastri, who helped him a lot in his scholarly endeavours. His work is too enormous and diverse to evaluate in the present survey. However, for the present purpose, Vol. VIII, Part ii, of *The Linguistic Survey of India* demands special mention for it was in this book that he proposed the concept of a separate group of languages, spoken in the North-western provinces of India. He called this group the Dardic Group, forming the third branch of the Indian sub-family of the Indo-European family; the other two being the Iranian and the Indo-Aryan. He includes Kashmiri in the Dard Group of the Dardic sub-family. He argued that Kashmiri was not an Indo-Aryan language like Panjabi, Gujrati, Bengali, Hindi, etc., but an ancient language with a unique phonological and syntactic structure. He admitted that during the Hindu period, the language was deeply influenced at the lexical level, but its basic structure remained unchanged.

Grierson studied the grammar of Kashmiri and contributed several papers on the subject to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the essays were later on published under the title *Essays on Kashmiri Grammar* (1899). His more comprehensive work on the subject is his *Standard Manual of the Kashmiri Language* (1911), which comprises two volumes. Besides compiling glossaries of various Dardic languages, he succeeded in preparing a four-volume dictionary of Kashmiri, which was based on Pandit Iswar Koul's *Kosha* and Pandit Mukand Ram Shastri helped him throughout this ponderous project. He was amazed by the scheme and scope of Pandit Iswar Koul's work, *Kashmira - sabdamritam*, the first exhaustive and comprehensive grammar of Kashmiri written in Panini's style. He edited the monumental work and published it in two volumes. He added an Appendix on the roots of verbs.

Grierson also edited and translated several Kashmir literary works, viz, *Mahānayaṃpra - Kasā* of the thirteenth century poet, Shati Kanth, the *Vākhs* of a fourteenth century woman saint-poet, Lal Dyad, entitled *Lal Vakyanī*, Sahib Koul's *Srikrishnavatāralita*, Prakash Ram's *Ramāva tāracharita*, *Siv Lagan* or *Siv Parinaya* of Krishanjoo Razdan and *Hatim's Tales*, compiled by Aurel Stein.

Grierson returned to England in 1903, where he continued his unfinished projects undertaken in the Valley.

Attempts to translate Kashmiri literature had already begun before Grierson's colossal translation work. A German linguist and literary scholar, Karl Friedrich Burkhard, besides writing in-depth study papers on Kashmiri grammar in German, translated the most popular verse-narrative in Kashmiri, *Yousuf and Zulaikhā* by Mahmood Gami of the early nineteenth century into German, which he had published along with the original text in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Richard Carnac Temple attempted a versified translation of Lal Dyad's poetry, which was published under the title *The Word of Lalla, the Prophetess*.

Many of the works of the European scholars in various European languages are not accessible, and it has to be admitted that the present attempt to survey such literature is not exhaustive, and it remains for future researchers in Kashmir studies and orientation to accomplish an exhaustive survey, so that the ideas of the Europeans can stimulate further investigation. People like Peter Edwin Hook of Illinois, U.S.A, whose interest in scholarship

is purely academic, continue exploring Kashmir studies. The work is not complete.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, which is now drawing to its end, the British Government in the subcontinent was in its death throes, and as such, the European scholars' insatiable thirst for Kashmir also waned. After 1947, the enthusiasm subsided almost completely, except for those whose dabbling in political turmoils is aimed at useful catches and for those who mean to make Kashmir a career.

SRINAGAR
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CHAPTER I

KASHMIR: POSITION AND SIZE

The country of Kashmir has justly a reputation for something distinctive, if not unique, in its character. Its position and form together are such that there is no parallel to it in the whole of the Himalayas. It is a plain embedded among the mountains, a wide vale enclosed by mountain ranges, lying at such a height above the sea as on the one hand to be of a climate entirely different from that of India, being saved from the heat that parches its plains, and on the other hand to be free from the severity of cold that visits the more lofty plateaus or wide valleys that are found more towards the centre of the mass of mountains.

Let us now look carefully at the position and extent of this country, and by figures help ourselves to understand the reasons of its special characters. Sirinagar, which is but a very few miles from the central point of the Kashmir Valley, is in lat. $34^{\circ} 5' N.$ and long. $74^{\circ} 48' E.$ Both the valley itself and the ring of mountains that surround it are irregular ovals. The position with regard to the great mass of mountains and to the plains of India is this:- the long diameter of the oval, lying north-west and south-east, is parallel with the general run of the chief ranges in this north-western portion of the Himalayas; the distance of the valley from the plain of the Panjab varies from 50 to 75 miles; that is to say, there is a mass of mountains of that width interposed between the two plains. The size of the country may be measured in two ways, one reckoning from summit to summit of the mountains that bound it, the other counting only the valley, that is the nearly flat part, that lies enclosed by them. Taking, then the ring of mountains, we find that the length of the irregular oval which the line of their summits forms is 116 miles, and that the width of it varies from 40 and 75 miles, the area within this rocky fence being about 3900 miles. The part which is comparatively low and flat, that which may be called the vale, is about 84 miles long, from north-west to south-east, and in width it varies from 20 to 25 miles; it has an area of 1800 or 1900 square miles. In level, what has been counted in the valley

varies from 6000 or 7000 feet above the sea down to 5200 feet; the lowest portion is along the north-eastern side; the average of the whole valley may be taken at about 5000 feet above the level of the Panjab plain, near 6000 feet above the sea. The mountain ridge, or rather the combination of mountain ridges, that surrounds Kashmir varies much in height. The loftiest points are on the north-east side, where some peaks rise to close on 18,000 feet. Where the mountains curve round the north-west end of the valley, 12,000 and 13,000 feet are the average heights. On the south-west side, the great range called the Panjal, whose summit-ridge is commonly 14,000 and 15,000 feet high, for a length of some 80 miles separates Kashmir from the Panjab. On the south-east, a continuation of that range, at a somewhat less elevation, curving round unites with the range on the north-east. It is near the southernmost part of the oval that the lowest portion of the mountain occurs; for a few miles the ridge is something under 10,000 feet.

By the ring thus almost completed the valley is enclosed. The one gap left is the gorge by which the drainage of the valley and the inside slopes of the mountains escapes to the sea. Towards the north-west end of the Kashmir Valley, the waters, having collected into one great stream, flow out by a ravine, or an extremely narrow valley, flowing in it for a long way before they reach the open plains. First they flow west; then to the north-west; and then, with a sudden turn, they come due south, till, after a course of 190 miles from the Kashmir mouth of the gorge, they reach the plains near Jhelam, having fallen in that distance 4000 feet of vertical height.

Returning now to the Kashmir Vale and looking more closely to the form of the ground, we shall find it to be divided naturally into two parts - the plain of the alluvium of the river, and the plateaus or platforms of older alluvial or lacustrine deposits; these must be spoken of separately and in some detail.

THE PLAIN OF THE RIVER ALLUVIUM

The streams which drain the south-eastern end of the barrier-mountains, flowing from many directions, unite near where the town of Islamabad stands and form a river which, from that spot onwards, through the length of the valley till the gorge before mentioned is reached, is navigable. This river may be called the

Jhelam, after the name given to the same water lower down. the natives of the country call it the Behat or Vehat; an older name, still used by those of them who follow Sanskrit literature, is Vedasta.

It is by the banks of this river that the flat plain lies, extending along the north-eastern side of the valley from Islamabad north-westwards for more than 50 miles, with a width varying from two or three to fifteen miles. The levels are 5400 feet at Kanebal by Islamabad, 5235 feet at Sirinagar, and 5180 feet at the farthest point, by the shore of the Wular Lake; these show a fall of 165 feet in the first 30 miles, and 55 feet only in the next 24 miles; to the eye it is a complete level, but it does in truth slope, in the general direction of the river-flow, to an extent corresponding to the fall of the river. The flat is just like the alluvial flats that make the meadow-lands by the side of our English streams; its surface has been formed, as theirs has been, by deposition of sediment on the water overflowing the banks at flood-time; here, however, it has not been kept in meadow, but has to a great extent been brought under the plough.

The plain is narrowest 10 or 12 miles below Islamabad; about Sirinagar and beyond it is wide. In this last part, great portions of the flat are a marsh covered with water in spring and summer, and left dry in winter. Other portions are more permanently covered and make weedy lakes; at the north-west extremity of the 50 miles of length there is a large expanse of water called the Wular Lake, some 10 miles by 6 in extent.

The river is much used for navigation; it is the great highway of Kashmir. The goods that come from India by the Jummoo road, over the Banihal Pass, are brought by land carriage - by coolies, ponies, or bullocks, as it may be - as far as Kanebal; thence boats take them to Sirinagar. The boats float down with the stream at the rate of a mile and a half or two miles an hour. The course of the river is winding; often it touches the rocky spurs on its right bank, again turning off it may near the plateaus that on the opposite side bound the flat. When one has had many days of rough marching, over roads where every footstep has to be looked to, how enjoyable is the change to the smooth movement of the boats as they glide slowly down the stream, just helped or guided by the paddles of the boat people! Delightful then one finds it to travel in this easy way and watch the varying view as, in following

the bending river, the boat now faces one mountain spur backed by loftier hills, now turns to another of different beauty, or else shows us the opposing line of snowy mountain-peaks.

The immediate banks of the river are level and unvaried; their height above the water may be 15 feet when the river is low, as in winter; but on the snow melting the river rises, and if at that time come two or three days' rain, the additional volume of water is enough to bring it up to the edge and make it overflow. Against this, the bank is all along artificially raised a few feet, but a heavy and continuous fall of rain will make the water overtop that bank as well, and produce a flood over all the flat, which may cause enormous damage to the crops over an area of many square miles. This flooding extends down to Sirinagar; the waters, however, do not enter its streets, for the whole space occupied by the city is made-ground, being raised some feet above the natural level by the artificial accumulations of centuries, as by the building and destruction of houses of successive generations. The environs, however, suffer from the flood; the part where the English visitors dwell is sometimes covered; the bank constructed to defend it may give way or be overtopped. I have known 6 feet of water over the plain behind the visitors' houses, and have gone in my boat up the great poplar avenue with that depth of water beneath me.

A few miles above Sirinagar, on the left bank, is a low marsh called Shalún, fed by mountain streams. This connects with the river by a channel which is kept closed by a door that opens river-ways; the object of this door is to prevent the river flood from spreading to the marsh and covering the low ground at its edge; it has happened that on the receding of the river a second flood was caused in it by the water of the marsh (which rose later) flowing out by the door that opened into the river. Another tract of water that is banked off is the Dal. This is the lake at the back of the city on the east; it receives its supply from springs and streams; a great bank separates the low land that edges it from certain side channels of the river, but there is a passage left for the sake of navigation, and a door that opens to the river. The lake changes its level but little; there is usually a flow of its water out through the passage; only when the river is very low a temporary dam, that stops the passing of any boat that cannot be dragged over it, is made to prevent the lake being too much drained; when the river rises with a flood the gate shuts of itself and secures the lake

district from inundation. A lock is here much wanted as well as sluices, for the regulation of the outfall and the maintenance at all times of navigation.

A stream of good volume, named Dudganga, joins the river on the left bank at the city of Sirinagar; it is made up by the waters of several smaller ones that drain the south-western mountains. Farther down, both on the right and left bank, the mountain streams fall into marshy expanses that are not permanently covered by the waters. These marshes are separated by an artificial bank from the river, but certain channels - themselves banked for some distance - allow of communication between. Small villages are seen on little pieces of ground slightly above the level of the marsh, whose inhabitants get their living as much from the water as the land around. In winter a great part of the ground becomes dry and affords some pasture. The whole space is a breeding-ground for mosquitos, which at times are exceedingly troublesome.

The river continues on, embanked, in a general north-westerly direction. Various portions of ground, of the low marsh level, have been recovered by an embanking. Deposition of silt also is occurring, and tending to raise what is still subject to inundation, and to carry the channel of the river farther and farther out into the Wular Lake, with which these marshes communicate, or into which they, so to say, melt.

The Wular Lake is by far the largest piece of water in Kashmir. Its boundary in some directions is ill defined; but the dimensions before given, 10 miles by 6, fairly represent its general length and breadth. The depth of the western and north-western part, which is away from the marshes, is about 14 feet, but where the streams debouch into it the depth is less and is continually lessening; formation of land even is going on. For about half the way round the lake mountains bound it. These are spurs, of heights varying from a few hundred feet to 5000 feet above the lake level; they are connected with ranges from which a few peaks rise to the snow-line. Along the northern shore of the lake, in front of the mountains, is an edging of sloping ground covered with villages - the district called Kohiyama, of which Bandipur is a well-known village, from its being, so to speak, a port. This cultivated land is partly on the slope and partly on the flat that has been recovered from the lake. The eastern and southern boundaries of the Wular Lake, as before said, are indefinite; on the south-western side there is a flat whose

edge is more distinct.

It is at the south-west corner that the water flows out from the lake and the river recommences. A mile or two below is the town of Sopur, built on both sides of the river with a connecting bridge. The river goes on, winding through a flat country like that above Sirinagar, and at about 18 miles from the lake it reaches Baramula, where the gorge begins and the character of the river immediately changes. Thence its course is over rocks, in falls and rapids, and there is no possibility of further navigation along it. This is the outfall for the whole drainage of the valley; all the streams had joined the river before the gorge was reached.

One little lake we had passed without notice. This is Manasbal, which lies a mile away from the right bank of the river, under the shelter of an isolated hill a few hundred feet in height. The lake is two or three miles long and a mile wide; the depth of it is greater than that of the Wular; 47 feet has to my knowledge been measured, and in parts the depth may be more. There is a channel connecting it with the main river.

Thus we see that the flat which extends along the north-east side of the valley for a great part of its length is partly land and partly water, but where the surface is watery the land is not far beneath. We now turn to the higher ground of the vale.

THE PLATEAUS, OR KAREWAS

Karewa is the Kashmiri word for these particular plateaus, whose characters will now be explained. In the dearth of descriptive geographical terms in variety it may be as well to make use of it.

The karewas are plateaus of alluvial or lacustrine material. Their soil for the most part is a loam or a loamy clay. They are divided from each other, sometimes cut into strips, so to say, by ravines of from 100 to 300 feet in depth; occasionally they are surrounded altogether by lower ground, but more generally they connect on to some of the mountains that bound the valley. Karewas and their dividing ravines occupy a width, varying from 8 to 16 miles, along the south-western side of the valley for a length of about 50 miles, from near Shapeyan to the river-flat between Sopur and Baramula. Beyond Sopur again, the north-western end of the valley is mostly karewa ground. Lastly, on the north-east

side of the valley, across the river, on its right bank, are spaces of *karewa*; in some cases they are in recesses made by retiring hills, in others they project out from spurs.

We must now make a distinction between two kinds of *karewas*. Of the first kind are those which on their summits make a table-land so flat as to the eye to seem perfectly so. Of the second are those which slope continuously, but with an increasing slope, to the mountains.

For an example of the flat-topped *karewas* we may go to Pampur, a small town five miles above Sirinagar on the right bank of the river. The space included between the river and the semicircle of mountains to the north and east, which space constitutes the *pargana* or "hundred" of Vihi, is almost entirely *karewa*; it is a flat table-land about 150 feet above the level of the Jhelam and its alluvial plain, ending towards the river in a bluff, partly worn down to a slope by weathering. The table-land is cut through by narrow valleys; these contain, and have been made by, the streams that carry away the drainage of the half ring of mountains; here but a small area, and that of not very high ground, is thus drained; the streams therefore are small and the ravines they have cut not wide. The surface of the *karewa* is dry and quite bare of trees; its position is not such as to make it receive a great rainfall, also there must be a natural deep drainage of its soil to the side valleys and the end cliff, so the moisture quickly leaves; still it will bear some crops. Some miles south of this, on the other side of the river-*lat*, is the *karewa* of Payach; this is in the form of a triangle, whose base is six miles and perpendicular four miles; it is an isolated plateau, entirely surrounded by low land, having the alluvial flat on one side, and on the other, the broad valleys of streams that drain from the Panjal. Behind Islamabad is another good specimen of the flat-topped *karewa*. There is a hill of limestone, separated by some miles from the mountains, which rises immediately behind the town to a height of a few hundred feet. The space between that hill and the mountain spur that connects with the great ridges - an area of some six square miles - is a nearly level table-land, about 5800 feet above the sea, 250 feet higher than the stream valleys on each side. This space is extremely arid; with difficulty can anything grow on it. Works have been begun for bringing water from higher up the northern valley, along the hill-side, to afford irrigation to this ground, which, with

that aid, would be sure to bear good crops.

We now come to the sloping karewas. I think that all the karewas that occur along the south-west side of the valley belong to this class. By Shapeyan, there is a large tract of ground sloping to the north-east from a height of 7000 feet down nearly to 5500. This may perhaps be called a karewa, though its surface is not so regular as that of most, and its slope seems to be radial, like that of a very flat cone; more accurately perhaps it might be called an alluvial fan on a very large scale. Watercourses are led over it from the hill streams, and they produce such fertility that the tract is crowded with villages. From Shapeyan, if we were to go, first in a northerly and then in a north-westerly direction, to Sopur, edging the hills, we should cross alternately karewas and low valleys. The karewas start from spurs of the mountains and extend out north-eastward, sloping slightly in that direction; the slope of them is greater near the hills and less away from them, until the outer parts get like the flat-topped karewas described above; the level of them may be taken at 6500 feet or rather more at their beginning, and they decline to about 5400 feet. The dividing valleys are sometimes narrow steep-sided ravines, with just a little width of green at the bottom, of land watered by the streamlet; other valleys, where a great amount of drainage has collected and formed a large stream, are wide or become almost plains; these, by the stream-bed, are apt to be pebbly; they, too, slope gradually to the north-east.

Over the surface of the karewas water has sometimes been brought for irrigation, and then a fertile tract is the result; but more commonly the cultivation of them depends on rain alone, and in that case, the yield is precarious. The Panjal ridge supplies by its various streams an enormous amount of water, some of which is utilized, but to bring watercourses over the higher plateaus is difficult; as a rule, they are left to the chances of rain, and only the intervening valleys or the lower parts of the karewa are fed from the streams.

The north-western end of the valley, that part beyond the river, the district called Kamraz, I am little acquainted with; I believe it to be chiefly karewa land, cut into by various streams which unite with the drainage of Lolab and Utar to form the Pohru River. This is a river of but slight fall, it has formed or helped to form a wide low-level flat that may almost be classed with the river-alluvium plain. This flat makes the pargana of Zainagar, a fine plain, six or

eight miles across each way; it is high enough to be clear of all the river floods, but not so high as to be drained dry like the karewas. Good crops here are grown with rain moisture only.

We have now finished our first survey, that which takes note of the form of the ground, of the vale of Kashmir; this which we have gone over is the part that, with the addition of a few high valleys, is peopled. Let us now consider some other circumstances that affect the country as a dwelling-place, and then pass on to look at the people themselves.

CLIMATE OF THE VALLEY

In the absence of any continuous and complete set of meteorological observations, I must content myself with speaking in a very general way of the climate of the inhabited parts, and under this same heading shall say a little about the effect it has on the growth of the various crops.

In latitude, Kashmir about corresponds with the following places:- In Asia, Peshawar, Baghdad, and Damascus; in Africa, Fez in Morocco; in America, South Carolina. But the elevation above the sea, of 5000 and 6000 feet, gives it a far more temperate climate than what any of these enjoy.

A rather cold and showery spring, which may be taken to include March, April, and part of May, is succeeded by a summer a few degrees hotter than a warm English summer, with much more continuous fine weather. The four or five months from May to September are a good time for all whose fate may lead them to the country; they are enjoyed alike by natives of India and of Europe. In some years, indeed, the temperature of the lower parts of the valley rises several degrees above what Englishmen are used to in their own country, but as compared with India in the hot weather the advantage of Kashmir is enormous; at the worst the heat is of that stage when, in the plains of India, one would begin to think about using punkahs, and this heat is in most years soon reduced by storms.

Immediately about Sirinagar, which has lakes or marshes bordering on or not far distant from it in nearly every direction, the heat of July and August is apt to make the air somewhat feverish, enough so, perhaps, to induce a return of intermittent fever to those who had contracted it in the more trying climate of India,

and even to originate the disease; a move of a few miles, however, will take one to drier parts, which are quite free from a tendency to fever.

As to moisture, the country is intermediate in position between that which is deluged by the periodical rains and that which is arid from the want of them. The monsoon, which, coming from the south-west, breaks with force on that side of the Panjal Hills, is almost completely intercepted by them and prevented from reaching the interior of Kashmir. In July and August, one sees the storm clouds collected round the summits of those mountains, and knows that they indicate that the season of the rains has commenced on the tract beyond. Now and then, the water-bearing clouds force their way across and precipitate their moisture on the slopes of the Kashmir side; for this reason, the karewa country on the south-west, especially the higher part of it, receives a greater rainfall than the river-alluvium flat on the south-east. The mountains beyond again, those that divide Kashmir from Ladakh, receive a good deal of rain. Maybe, some moisture passes over the Panjal ridge without precipitation, and becomes condensed on reaching the yet higher range beyond; or it may be that moisture evaporated from the valley itself gets carried away and deposited on contact with the mountains on the north and east. Certain it is that while clouds collect and storms rage and rain falls on the two ranges of mountains, yet the centre of the valley and the edge of the north-eastern hills - where, for instance, Sirinagar and Avantipur and Islamabad stand - are comparatively free from rain. But occasionally the rain-clouds spread over the whole area, and give a supply of moisture enough to bring on those crops which depend on rain, and to bring down the temperature of the air.

The climate does not allow of a complete double harvest as in the plains of India and the lower hills, but still with some grains two crops can be got off the same land. Barley, sown about November, will ripen in the middle or end of June; after that, or after rape, maize or millet or some of the pulses may be sown. It is not, however, the common practice thus to take two crops from the land; those crops that belong to the autumn harvest are usually grown on fresh ground; but doubtless with a greater demand for land the custom would spread, at all events in favourable spots. Neither wheat nor rice allow of a second crop in the same year; they both occupy the soil for too many months. Wheat, which is

sown in the late autumn, ripens about the middle of July; it is not of a good quality, probably from too great moisture in the soil, for it is grown almost entirely on the river alluvium. Rice, which is sown at the end of May or beginning of June, as well as the other autumn crops, maize, millet, etc., will ripen in October. Wherever water can be got for irrigation rice is grown, and without irrigation it cannot be grown. Rice is in Kashmir the most important crop of all; though raised successively from the same ground, it yields a great return. It is the common food of the Kashmiri, of those who live in the towns, and of those of the country people who can grow it themselves; the cultivators who have no irrigated land must content themselves with what of the maize or of the other cheap grains falls to their share.

Soon after the autumn crop has ripened and been cut, come signs of approaching winter. Any time after the middle of October, snow may fall on the surrounding mountains, though still the valley remains free from it, and even bright and sunny; but the nights get cooler, and with November hoar frost may begin; or else through November and December a haze covers the low country, which will keep off the night-cold, but at the same time prevent the sun's rays from brightening the land. The snow by repeated falls, each perhaps of no great thickness, gets lower on the mountains, and about Christmas time one may expect a general fall of snow over the whole country. With this winter has arrived, and there follows a time, usually about two months, during which snow hides the ground. The temperature, however, is not severe; the season, indeed, would be better if it were more severe, for the snow that falls is but just at the freezing point; it continually melts with the warmth of the ground, while fresh falls replace it from above; thus a thickness of from a few inches to a foot remains for the two months. The cold dampness of this time prevents the Kashmir winter from being a pleasant season. The fog from which the snow forms hangs over all the valley; only sometimes it may clear away, and a brisker keener air is the result. But even when the fog so covers the vale, the higher parts are commonly free. In rising, for instance, to the Banihal Pass, one will get above the fog and look down on it as it covers in the hollow; or in going up the lateral valley called the Sind Valley, in a march or two one will get clear of the fog that frequents the vale, and reach to where there is deep snow under foot and bright blue sky overhead; here, at the edge of

the fog, as it may drift sometimes higher up than at others, I have seen an exceedingly heavy rime formed on every tree.

In coming down from Ladakh one year, I marched through Kashmir and over the Banihal Pass in January. Snow covered the vale, and whitened everything on the plain except the trees round the villages; at Sirinagar its depth was six inches, at Islamabad it was something more, and at Shahabad there was a foot and a half of snow on the ground. On the Banihal ridge it was so thick one could not measure it. The Pass could not be crossed by horses, and for men it was very laborious. What struck me on coming down the other side as a thing worth noting was that the snow ended off in a sharp contour-line in the Banihal Valley at a level of 6500 feet, which is 1300 feet above the level where snow was lying in Kashmir itself.

Towards the end of February, in general, the snow disappears from the vale, and spring comes on with a burst.

Frederic Drew: *The Jammu and Kashmir Territories*

CHAPTER II

THE PEAKS AND MOUNTAIN RANGES

Not, indeed, from the valley itself, but from the mountains which bound it, can be seen the second highest mountain in the world, and a number of peaks of 25,000 feet and over. Kashmir is cradled amidst the very loftiest mountains, and only Nepal can claim still higher peaks.

The Government of India recently published a remarkably interesting scientific treatise on the high peaks and principal mountain ranges of Asia, by Colonel Burrard, R.E., F.R.S., the officiating Surveyor-General of India, and H. H. Hayden, Superintendent in the Geological Survey of India. Both these officers had unique qualifications for the task. Colonel Burrard had for years made a special study of the Himalaya, and Mr. Hayden had for a great part of his service been engaged in investigating the geology of various districts of the Himalayas, and he accompanied me to Tibet.

The highest peak in the world is Mount Everest, which is taken to be 29,002 feet above sea-level, and is situated at the back of Nepal. The *second* highest is the peak K² situated on the boundary between the Kashmir State and Turkestan, and on the main watershed dividing the rivers of India from the rivers of Central Asia. It is 28,250 feet above the sea, and is visible from Haramokh on the northern range of Kashmir.

It may be wondered why so high a peak has no name. The reason is that, though high, it is not visible from any inhabited place. It is hidden away in a remote mountain region behind other peaks of almost as great magnitude, which being nearer overshadow it - as Mount Everest itself is overshadowed from Darjiling by the Kinchinjunga range. There is no village within six days' travel of K² on either side, and, consequently, until it was fixed by observation of the Survey, it was unknown. Colonel Montgomerie, when making the survey of Kashmir, discovered K². It was among a series of peaks on what is known as the Karakoram range, and each of these he designated by the capital letter K, after Karakoram, and by a number, K¹, K², K³, etc. So it came about that what proved to

be the second highest mountain in the world became known, not by any name, but by merely a letter and a number.

In 1887, on my way from Peking to India, I passed close under K^2 on its northern side, and in a paper read before the Royal Geographical Society in the following year made some reference to it. At the conclusion of my lecture, the late General Walker and Sir Henry Rawlinson proposed the name of Godwin Austin, after the survey officer who made the topographical survey of the southern portion of the Karakoram range. This name was adopted by the Geographical Society, and now appears on many maps. But it has never been accepted by the Government of India, and Colonel Burrard in his above-mentioned treatise now writes:- "Of all the designations suggested for the supreme peak of the Karakoram that of K^2 has now the widest vogue, and it will be in the interests of uniformity if this symbol be adopted in future to the exclusion of all others. The permanent adoption of the symbol K^2 will serve to record the interesting fact that a mountain exceeding 28,000 feet in height had not been deemed worthy of a name by the people living under its shade, and that its pre-eminent altitude was unsuspected until it was brought to light by trigonometrical observation."

With these observations I entirely agree.

K^2 was, as I have said, discovered by Colonel Montgomerie in 1858. He took the first observation to it from Haramokh, the conspicuous peak on the north side of the valley of Kashmir, at a distance of 137 miles. I saw it first from the north from the Aghil range which I discovered in 1887, and I subsequently passed close under it both then and in 1889, and never shall I forget the impression it left on me as I rounded a spur, and looking up a valley saw, quite unexpectedly, this real mountain monarch towering almost immediately above me, very abrupt and upstanding, and with immense masses of ice accumulated at its base. I have also seen Mount Everest from the north, and it is remarkable that both these peaks, which are so inconspicuous from the southern side, should stand out so boldly from the north. K^2 is not so massive a mountain as Kinchinjunga and Nanga Parbat. It is rather the bold culminating peak of a range.

The height of K^2 is put down as 28,250 feet above the sea. How can we be certain that this is right? The reply is that we cannot. The observations have been made from immense distances

and are consequently liable to certain errors which have been discussed by Colonel Burrard.

It was observed from the following stations:

Station	Height above Sea	Distance
Shangruti	17,531	78.9
Biachuthusa	16,746	99.0
Marshala	16,906	58.6
Kastor	15,983	66.0
Thurigo	17,246	61.8
Haramokh	16,001	136.5
Kanuri-Nar	15,437	114.3
Barwai	16,304	88.0
Thalanka	16,830	74.7

And apart from the error due to distance there are others which must always be counted on. As he remarks, no telescope is absolutely perfect; no level is entirely trustworthy; no instrumental graduations are strictly exact; and no observer is infallible. Then again, the peaks themselves do not always have clearly defined summits, though K² happens in this respect to be a model for observation, and as it has been observed on several occasions from different stations, the errors in the mean value of height due to faults of observations are probably, in Colonel Burrard's opinion, less than ten feet. Another source of error is the adoption of possibly erroneous altitudes for the stations of observation. The altitude of K² was observed from Haramokh and other stations, but the altitude of Haramokh itself may be a few feet wrong, and the altitude of K² on this account may be thirty feet in error. Another element of uncertainty in determining the height of a peak is caused by the variation in the amount of snow on its summit. There is clearly more snow on the summit of a peak in winter than in summer, and in a hot, dry summer there may be less than in a generally cloudy, snowy summer. A more complicated description of error is introduced by the deviation of gravity from the normal in great mountain ranges. The attraction of the great mass of the Himalaya mountains and of Tibet pulls all liquids towards itself as the moon attracts the ocean. The liquid in levels on the theodolites with which observations of the peaks are made is similarly affected: the plates to the theodolites in consequence cannot be exactly

adjusted, and when apparently truly levelled are in reality tilted upwards towards the mountains. At Kurseong, near Darjiling, they would be as much as 51" out of true level and at Mussouri about 37".

But the most serious source of uncertainty in the measurement of the altitude of a peak is the refraction of the atmosphere. A ray of light from a peak to an observer's eye does not travel along a straight line, but assumes a curved path concave to the earth. The ray enters the observer's eye - I quote from Colonel Burrard - in a direction tangential to the curve at that point, and this is the direction in which the observer sees the peak. It makes the peak appear too high. This refraction is greatest in the morning and evening, and least in the middle of the day; it is different in summer from what it is in winter. One of the great Himalayan peaks visible from the plains of India would appear, from observations with a theodolite made to it from the plains, to fall 500 feet between sunrise and the afternoon, and to rise again 300 feet before sunset; and even in the afternoon, when it would appear lowest, it would still be too high by perhaps 700 feet. This is obviously a very fruitful source of error, and the difficulty of determining the error is increased by the fact that the curvature of the ray varies with the rarefaction of the atmosphere. In the higher altitude, when the rarefaction of the atmosphere increases, the ray assumes a less curved path. All these possible sources of error due to the rarefaction of the atmosphere have been most carefully studied, but even now we must allow 10 to 30 feet as possible error due to the rarefaction of the atmosphere.

Summarising the possible sources of error in fixing the height of K^2 we may say the error may be from -

Errors of observation	20ft.
Adoption of erroneous height for observing station	30ft.
Variation of snow-level from the mean	Unknown
Deviation of gravity	Unknown
Atmospheric refraction	10 to 30 ft.

K^2 , as I have said, though on the borders of the Kashmir State, and visible from the range which bounds the Kashmir valley, is not visible from the valley itself. But Nanga Parbat can be seen from near Baramula and from a few other parts of the valley, and is the

most striking object in the view from Gulmarg and other points of the northward-facing slope of the Pir Panjal. It ranks eighth among the mountains of the world, except K² all the others being in the Nepal Himalayas. The order of the mountains is:

	<i>Feet</i>
Mount Everest	29,002
K ²	28,250
Kinchinjunga	28,146
Makalu	27,790
T ⁴⁵	26,867
Dhaulagiri	26,795
XXX	26,658
Nanga Parbat	26,620

Being more accessible than the remote K² the observations for its height were made at much closer quarters, the nearest observation point being 43 miles distant instead of 61 as in the case of K². It was observed in all from eleven different points, of which the most remote was 133 miles. But until it had been measured by the Survey, it had been marked on maps as only 19,000 feet.

Colonel Burrard says it is "the most isolated and perhaps the most imposing of all the peaks of Asia". It certainly is remarkable for its isolation. With the exception of subordinate pinnacles rising from its own buttresses, no peak within 60 miles of it attains an altitude of more than 17,000 feet. Throughout a circle of 120 miles' diameter, Nanga Parbat surpasses all other summits by more than 9000 feet. And its upper 5000 feet are precipitous. It stands out therefore in solitary nobleness, and it can be seen on its northern side rising 23,000 feet from the Indus, there only 3500 above the sea. But whether it is of all mountains the really most imposing it is not easy to say, and personally I almost cling to Kinchinjunga. Rakaposhi in Hunza, which is 25,550 feet in altitude, and can be seen rising sheer up from the Hunza River 5000 feet above sea-level, is also wonderfully impressive. There is a peak on the Pamirs 25,146 feet high which can be seen rising abruptly from the plains of Turkestan, which are but a little over 3000 feet; and there is the Musherbrum Peak near K² which is 25,660 feet - all of which I have seen, and which I find it hard to place exactly in order of relative impressiveness. But if Nanga Parbat cannot be placed in unquestionably the first position, it will in most men's estimation

approximate to it, and must in any case be reckoned among the most striking sights in the world.

Of what are these great peaks built up? No-one has yet ascended their summits, and as Mr. Hayden points out, the geologist has to do his work at close quarters, and not like the surveyor from a distance. So the composition of the highest peaks is rarely known in any detail, though the general character of the rocks can be ascertained with a fair approximation to certainty, from observation of material on the flanks, and from a distant view of the weathering character and apparent structure of the peaks themselves. From such observations it has been found that almost all the peaks of 25,000 feet or more in height are composed of granite, gneiss, and associated crystalline rocks. It had long been supposed that some of the granites found on the flanks of the great peaks which presented a foliated appearance were of sedimentary origin, and had therefore been once deposited beneath the sea. But their truly intrusive nature was recognised by the late Lieutenant-General McMahon, who proved conclusively that the great central gneissose rock of the Himalayas was in reality a granite crushed and foliated by pressure. It may certainly be taken that both K² and Nanga Parbat are composed of granite, and have been intruded or compressed upward from beneath the earth's crust.

Mr. Hayden further concludes that the exceptional height of these great peaks is due to their being composed of granite, for either the superior power of the granite to resist the atmospheric forces tending to their degradation has caused them to stand as isolated masses above surrounding areas of more easily eroded rocks, or they are areas of special elevation.

Now it is found that the axes of the great mountain ranges are also composed of granite, and it seems probable that special elevating forces have been at work to raise certain parts of their ranges above the general level of the whole. And when once such elevation has been brought about, the disparity between the higher peaks and the intervening less elevated area would undoubtedly be intensified by the destructive forces at work, for the mantle of snow and ice, while slowly carrying on its work of abrasion, would serve as a protection for the peaks against the disintegrating forces of the atmosphere, while the lower unprotected areas would be more rapidly eroded.

So argues Mr. Hayden, who further demonstrates that when, during the development of the Himalaya as a mighty mountain range vast masses of granite welled up from below, forcing their way through and lifting up the pre-existing rocks superimposed upon them, it is probable that, owing to dissimilarity of composition and to structural weaknesses in certain portions of the earth's crust, movement was more intense at some points than at others, and that the granite was raised into more or less dome-like masses standing above the general level of the growing range, and subsequently carved by the process of erosion into clusters of peaks.

The great peaks being thus of intrusive origin, the question naturally arises whether they are *still* being intruded upward; whether those great forces at work beneath the surface of the earth are still impelling them upward; and if so, whether they are being forced upward more rapidly than the atmospheric forces are wearing down their summits. From the geological standpoint, Mr. Hayden says that it is not at present possible to say whether the elevatory movement is still in progress, but he adds that many phenomena observable in the Himalaya lead us to infer that local elevation has until quite recently been operative, and the numerous earthquakes still occurring with such frequency and violence forcibly remind us that the Himalaya has by no means reached a period of even comparative rest. The surveyor can as yet give us no more certain answer. Colonel Burrard says the original observations of the great peaks made between 1850 and 1860 were not sufficiently prolonged at any one station to enable us to rely with certainty on the values of the height then obtained. When a slow variation in height has to be determined it is better to carry out a long series of observations from one station only, rather than to take a number of observations from different stations, as is necessary and as was done in determining the absolute height of peaks. But in 1905, the Survey of India commenced a series of observations from one station, and it is proposed to observe the heights of several peaks for some years and at different seasons in each year. Then, if a reliable series of results be once obtained, a similar set of observations can be repeated at a subsequent date, and any actual change of height that has occurred in the interval may be discovered.

Until these observations are made, we cannot say for certain whether the great peaks are still rising.

THE MOUNTAIN RANGES

So far, we have considered the isolated peaks rather than the ranges themselves. It remains to study these latter. All of them are popularly regarded as forming part of the "Himalayas". But Himalaya - pronounced with the stress on the second syllable - simply means the "abode of snow"; and geographers have had to define the separate ranges into which this great Himalayan region is divided. The name of the Great Himalaya is consequently reserved for the supreme range which extends from the western borders of China, carries the great peaks, Mount Everest and Kinchinjunga, and runs through Kumaon and Kashmir to Nanga Parbat, and possibly farther. This is the culminating range of the earth's surface. The range to the north, on which stands K² and some satellite peaks of 26,000 feet, is neither so long nor has it quite such lofty peaks. It is known as the Karakoram range because a pass called the Karakoram Pass crosses it.

The range, however, lies far at the back of Kashmir, and it is not so much with it as with the true Himalaya range that we are here concerned. The mountain ranges which encircle the valley of Kashmir are the final prolongations of that mighty range which runs from the borders of Burma thirteen hundred miles away, and bifurcating at the Sutlej River, forms with its subsidiary spurs the cradle in which the Kashmir valley is set.

The southern branch of this bifurcation is known as the Pir Panjal range, and is that which bounds Kashmir on the south. It is the largest of the lesser Himalayan ranges, and even at its extremity in Kashmir it carries many peaks exceeding 15,000 feet; the Tatakuti Peak, 30 miles south-west of Srinagar, 15,524 feet in height, being the most conspicuous.

The northern branch of the bifurcation at the Sutlej River of the Great Himalayan range culminates in the Nun Kun peaks (23,410 feet and 23,250 feet), which stand conspicuously 3000 feet above the general crest of the range, and can be seen on clear days from Gulmarg. From near them, not far from the Zoji-la, an oblique range branches from the Great Himalayan range, and constitutes the parting between the Jhelum River and the Kishenganga, the latter river draining the angle formed by the bifurcation. The height of this North Kashmir range, as Colonel Burrard calls it, is greatest near the point of bifurcation, one of its

peaks, Haramokh (16,890 feet), reaching above the snow-line, and being the most conspicuous object which meets the eye of a traveller entering the valley from the south. Farther westward the range ramifies and declines.

The main line of the great range of the Himalayas has meanwhile continued from the remarkable depression at the Zoji Pass along by the Kamri Pass, to the immense mountain buttress of Nanga Parbat which, overhanging the deep defiles of the Indus, seems to form a fitting end to the mighty range which started on the confines of China. But there are great mountains beyond the Indus also, and whether these form a continuation of the Great Himalayan axis which the river Indus would in that case have merely cut through in the gorges below Nanga Parbat, or whether the mountains west of the Indus are part of a separate range, we shall not know till these latter have been geologically examined.

THE STORY OF THE MOUNTAINS

How these peaks and mountain ranges arose is a fascinating and impressive study. It has been made by Mr. Hayden, who, in the fourth part of the scientific memoir, has compiled their history from his own personal investigations and the accounts of his fellow-observers in the Geological Survey of India. And surely a scientific man could have no more inspiring task than the unravelling of the past history of the mighty Himalaya. Here we have clue after clue traced down, the meaning of each extracted, and the broad general outline of the mountain's story told in all its grand impressiveness, till one sees the earth pulsating like a living being, rising and subsiding, and rising again, now sinking inward till the sea flows over the depression, then rising into continental areas, anon subsiding again beneath the waters, and finally, under titanic lateral pressure and crustal compression, corrugating into mighty folds, while vast masses of granite well up from below, force their way through, lift up the pre-existing rocks and toss themselves upward into the final climax of the great peaks which distinguish the Himalaya from every other range of mountains in the world.

For millions of years, a perpetual struggle has been going on between the inherent earth forces pressing upward and the opposing forces of denudation wearing away the surface. Sometimes the internal forces are in commotion, or the contracting

crust of the earth finds some weak spot and crumples upward, and the mountains win. A period of internal quiescence follows, and the rain and snow, the frost and heat, gain the victory, and wear down the proudest mountains - as they have worn away the snow glacier mountains which once stood in Rajputana.

Of all this wonderful past the mountains themselves bear irrefutable evidence. Near Rampur, on the road into Kashmir, are bold cliffs of limestone, a rock which is merely the accumulation of the relics of generations of minute marine shell-fishes. These cliffs, now upturned to almost perpendicular, must once have lain flat beneath the surface of the ocean. High up in the Sind valley, embedded in the rocks, are fossil oysters, showing that they too must once have lain beneath the sea. More telling still, at Zewan, a few miles east of Srinagar, are fossils of land plants immediately below strata of rocks containing fossils of marine animals and plants, from which may be concluded that the land subsided under the sea, and was afterwards thrust up again. Again, an examination of the rocks on the Takht-i-Suliman shows that they are merely dried lava, and must have had a volcanic origin - perhaps beneath the sea. And an investigation of the rocks on the flanks of Nanga Parbat has shown that they are of granite which must have been intruded from the interior of the earth.

Everywhere there is evidence that even K² and Nanga Parbat lay beneath the sea, and that where now are mountains once rolled the ocean; that some once lay in soft, flat layers of mud or sand, or plant and shell deposit on the ocean bottom, while others, as the ocean bottom was upraised above the waters, were obtruded through them; and that everywhere there has been an immense pressing and crumpling of the earth's crust - a rising and subsiding, a throbbing and pulsation, which at one time has brought Kashmir in direct contact by land with Madagascar and South Africa, and at another has brought it into contact through communication by sea with both America and Europe; and which, finally, has projected it upward thousands of feet into the air. The evidence, moreover, shows that millions of years have passed while these titanic movements have been working out their marvellous results.

Who can but be impressed by such ages and such forces? Who that looks on those lovely Kashmir mountains, and on the mighty peaks which rise behind, and has learnt their long eventful history, can help being impressed by the immensity of time their structure

betokens, by the magnitude of the movements unceasingly at work within, and by the dignity with which they yet present a front so impassive and sublime?

To realise the full, long-measured roll of their majestic evolution we should have to go back to the time when the swift revolving sun - itself one only among a thousand million other stars of no less magnitude - swished off from its circumference the wreath of fiery mist now called the Earth; and we should have to trace that mist, cooling and consolidating, first to a molten mass with a plastic crust enveloped in a dense and watery atmosphere, and then to a hardened surface of dry land with cavities in which the ocean settled. But the story, as it is with more detailed accuracy known, commences at the time when a shallow sea covered central and northern India, and extended over the site of the present Himalaya, including Kashmir and the region of the mighty peaks behind. This, then, is the first essential fact to lay hold of, that at the commencement of the authentic history of Kashmir, the whole - vale and mountain peaks alike - lay unborn beneath the sea.

How long ago this was it is not possible to say within a million years or so. But this much may be said with certainty, that the period is to be reckoned not in thousands, nor yet in hundreds of thousands, but in millions of years. Geologists have names for different geological epochs, and do not usually speak of them by definite numbers of years, for there is still much controversy as to the precise length of time occupied by each. But to fix in the mind of the general reader a rough idea of the immense periods of time with which we are dealing in tracing the history of the mountains, it is useful to speak in terms of numbers, even though they may be only very approximately correct. We may then assume that the oldest rocks in Kashmir were deposited in sediment at the bottom of the afore-mentioned shallow sea a hundred million years ago. Some geologists and biologists think that a still longer time must have elapsed. Some physicists would maintain that even so much is not allowable. But as an average opinion, we may take a hundred million years ago as the commencement of Kashmir history.

What were the limits of the sea which then rolled over the site of Kashmir is not yet precisely known. But the lower portion of the Indian peninsula was then dry land, and connected by land with

Africa; and the sea probably extended westward to Europe and eastward to China. Into it the rivers bore down the debris and detritus worked off by the rain from the dry land; and thus were slowly deposited, in the long course of many million years, sediments hundreds and thousands of feet in thickness which, subsequently upheaved and hardened, to form the Kashmir mountains of the present day.

The first great movement of which authentic record has yet been traced took place at the close of the Jaunsar period. The bosom of the earth heaved restlessly, and what had already been deposited in the depths of the sea now emerged above the surface. Volcanoes burst through the crust, and the sedimentary deposits, hardened into rock, were covered with sheets of lava and volcanic ash, which now form the hills at the back of Srinagar, including the Takht-i-Suliman.

This was Kashmir's first appearance - not, however, in the form of a beautiful valley surrounded by forests and snow-capped mountains, but rather in the form of an archipelago of bare volcanic islands. And even these were not permanent, for a period of general subsidence followed and they slowly sank beneath the sea which was then probably connected with America.

During the Devonian period, Kashmir was still submerged; but in a subsequent portion of the time when the Carbonaceous system was being deposited there was a second period of great volcanic activity, when the southern portion of Kashmir again formed an archipelago of volcanic islands.

Eventually all Kashmir emerged, and became part of the mainland of India at that time joined with Africa; so that Kashmir which had before been joined by sea with America was now joined by land with Africa. Such are the mighty movements of this seemingly immovable earth.

But it was only for a brief space that Kashmir was visible. Then once again, in mid-Carboniferous times, it subsided beneath the sea, there to remain for some millions of years till the early Tertiary period, four million years ago, when it again emerged, and the sea was gradually pushed back from Tibet and the adjacent Himalaya, till by the end of the Eocene period both Tibet and the whole Himalaya had finally become dry land. Kashmir was now a portion of the continental area and the culminating effort of the earth forces was at hand. For yet another period of great volcanic

activity ensued, connected, perhaps, with the crustal disturbances to which the origin of the Himalaya is attributed. Masses of molten granite were extruded from beneath the earth's surface through the sedimentary deposit. And these granitic masses, issuing from the fiery interior of the earth, pushing ever upward, reached and passed the level of eternal snow till they finally settled into the line of matchless peaks now known as the Himalaya.

This then, briefly, is a record of the successive phases of upheaval and subsidence through which Kashmir has passed. Through by far the greater portion of the earth's history - through perhaps ninety out of the hundred million years - Kashmir has lain beneath the sea. And it is only within the last four million years that it has finally emerged.

What has actually caused the final upheaval; from when came the force which raised the mountains is not yet entirely known. One well-known theory is that the earth's crust in cooling has to accommodate itself to a constantly decreasing diameter, and so gets crinkled and crumpled into folds. Anyhow from whatever cause, and quite apart from the ordinary up-and-down movements of the crust, there has evidently been immense lateral pressure, and on the drive into Kashmir many instances may be observed of the once level strata being crumpled into folds as the leaves of a book might be on being laterally pressed. There has been, say Mr. Middlemiss, "a steadily acting lateral pressure of the earth's crust tending to bank it up against the central crystalline zone [that is the core of intrusive granite of which the line of great peaks is formed] by a movement and a resistance in two opposite directions". And besides this pressure, the effect of tangential stresses tending to compress the earth's surface laterally and so form corrugations on it, there was from some remote internal cause this welling up from below of vast masses of granite which forced their way through the pre-existing rocks and formed the high peaks, the core of the Himalayan ranges.

These were the approximate causes - though the ultimate causes are not known - from which the Kashmir mountains originated. And tremendous though the forces must have been to cause such mighty effects, there is no evidence that they were violent. The stupendous result may have been imperceptibly attained. If Nanga Parbat rose not more than one inch in a month, it would have taken only 26,600 years to rise from the sea-level, and

this is but a moment in the vast epochs with which we are dealing. Nature has worked without haste and without violence. Slowly, relentlessly, and uninterruptedly her work has progressed till the great final result stands before us in all its impressive majesty.

Such was the origin and history of the Kashmir mountains. It remains to trace the course of life upon them, and picture their appearance in the various stages of their history.

In that remote time, which we have roughly taken as a hundred million years ago, when the oldest rocks, those for instance at Gulmarg, were first laid down in level soft deposit on the ocean bottom, there was no life on land or sea. In no part of the world have the rocks of this period given the slightest trace of any form of life. But in the course of time, in some warm climate and in some quarter where sea and land meet, and where, through the action of the tides, a portion of the land is alternately covered and laid open to the sunshine - that is, in some spot where earth and air, light, heat and water might all have their effect - it has been surmised that minute microscopic specks of slime must have appeared imbued with just that mysterious element which distinguishes life from all chemical combinations however complex.

Of this initial stage, which would not have been perceptible to the naked eye, no trace could possibly be left, but in the pre-Cambrian rocks in Europe there have been detected very minute specimens of the simplest known forms of life - the Protozoa - and obscure tracks and markings indicating the existence of life of some kind. And in the next geological period - the Cambrian and Silurian, say between thirty and fifty million years ago - there is not indeed in the Kashmir rocks yet any sign of life, but in the neighbouring district of Spiti there has been found in corresponding rocks fossils of corals, trilobites, shell-fish, worms, brachiopods (lamp-shells), and gastropods.

When Kashmir made its first brief emergence from the waters, in an archipelago of volcanic islands, though there was life of low and simple kind in the sea, on land there was none, and the islands must have been absolutely bare. Neither on hill-side nor on plain was there a speck of vegetation, not even the humblest moss or lichen, and not a sign of animal life. No bird or insect floated in the air. And over all there must have reigned a silence such as I remember in the Gobi Desert, and which was so felt that when after many weeks I arrived at an oasis, the twittering of the birds

and the humming of the insects appeared as an incessant roar.

It does not, however, follow from its bareness that the scenery of this archipelago may not have been beautiful, for those who have frequently passed up the Gulf of Suez know that the early morning and evening effects on bare deserts and rocky hills are often the most perfect in the delicacy and brilliance of their opalescent hues, and that the combination of this colouring with the bluey-green and the life and sparkle of the sea makes up a beauty which wooded mountain-sides may often lack. And as from the islands the summits of snowy ranges in India and Central Asia might be discerned, Kashmir even in its primitive and most barren stage must yet have had many a charm of its own.

But the bareness of the islands must have shortened the term of their existence, for it meant that the hills and plains were easily scoured out by the torrential rains which then fell upon them. It seems difficult in these days to imagine that when tropical rains fall on barren land, they will not at once bring up a luxuriant crop of vegetation which would do much to keep the soil in its position; but in those days, there was on land no plant life of any description. The hills and plains must, in consequence, have been deeply scoured, and rushing river have rapidly carried, in sand and boulders and muddy and chemical solution, the disintegrated surface of the land to the bottom of the sea, and laid down there the sediments and deposits which, subsequently upheaved, form the Kashmir rocks of the present day.

It is not until we come to the almost mediæval period corresponding to the Coal Measures, about twenty million years ago, that the record of land life in Kashmir begins.

In the hill-sides behind Khunmu, a little village about ten miles east of Srinagar, there is a series of rocks lying in layers over the older "trap" rocks of volcanic origin which form the great bulk of the neighbouring mountains, and in these sedimentary rocks, in what are called carbonaceous shales, are found some ferns named *gangamopteris*. They were discovered in 1906 by Mr. Hayden, and they are estimated by him to be "not younger than Upper Carboniferous", and they "may belong to the basis of that subdivision, or even to the Middle Carboniferous", that is, they may be about fifteen to eighteen million years old. At the same place, but on a layer of later date, have also been found fossil brachiopods - marine shell-fish resembling cockles - also of Upper

Carboniferous times.

This, as it happens, was an interesting period in the earth's history. For there occurred about then, or somewhat earlier, an extensive upheaval in many parts of the world, and mountains which have been now removed were upheaved to an altitude comparable with that of the highest ranges of the present day, and in the Punjab there then existed a snowy range with glaciers.

It was at this period that Kashmir was joined with the mainland of the Indian peninsula, which in its turn was joined with Africa, and now, at least, there must have been some vegetation and animal life. At this time of the Coal Measures - the remnants of forests growing in shallow sea-water - life was well advanced. Birds and mammals and flowers, and the more highly developed animals and plants had not yet appeared, but in the sea lived such things as star-fishes, shell-fishes, corals, sea-urchins, sea-lilies, sea-cucumbers, feather stars, sea-worms, sea-snails, cuttlefish, water-fleas and mussels, shrimps, and lobsters and fishes. In the coal swamps were ferns, "horse-tails" similar to the horse-tails of the present day, but of gigantic size, club mosses more than fifty feet high, lycopods, trees with trunks fifty feet high, and which bore catkins ripening into berries not unlike those of hews. In the fresh water were some shell-fishes, crustaceans, and fishes. On land were spiders, scorpions, some of gigantic size, and centipedes. Through the air flew hundreds of different kinds of insects, May flies, cockroaches, crickets, and beetles. The magnate of the vertebrate world was the labyrinthodont (traces of which have been found in Kashmir), which had a salamander-like body, a long tail, bony plates to protect his head, and armour of integumentary scales to protect his body. Of land trees and plants, there were lepidodendrons with huge stems clad with linear leaves and bearing cones; huge club mosses, climbing palms, such as grow in tropical forests of the present day, great funguses, and numerous ferns.

Such was the type of vegetation and of land and sea animal life of the Coal period, and although not many remains of this age have yet been found in Kashmir, enough traces have been discovered to satisfy us that in the shallow estuarial water and on the islands of the inland sea, there lived an animal and vegetable life which must have been very similar to what we know existed elsewhere.

For another fourteen million years or so after the Coal period, there is nothing special to record in the history of Kashmir. There

may have been a line of islands along the core of the present ranges, but the greater part of Kashmir had sunk once more beneath the waters, in which new sediments of enormous thickness were being accumulated, till in the late Cretaceous period, or about four million years ago, the great crustal compression began which finally upheaved these deposits from the ocean bottom, and formed the Kashmir of the present day. This upheaval was, however, neither sudden nor continuous. It was very gradual, it had three distinct phases, and was not complete till a million years ago, when the dividing ocean entirely disappeared, and the Himalaya reached its maximum height.

And now at this period of upheaval - the Tertiary period of geologists - a great change had come in the animal and vegetable worlds. *Man* had not arisen even yet, but birds and mammals and flowers, and all kinds of trees were now developed; and this marked the threshold of the modern type of life. The ages when the great ferns and palms and yew-like conifers were the leading forms of vegetation had passed away, and the period of the hardwood trees and evergreens had commenced. The great reptiles, too, which in such wonderful variety of type were the dominant animals of the earth's surface in the period following the Carboniferous, now waned before the increase of the mammals.

At the commencement of the Tertiary period there grew cypress, sequoia (Wellingtonia and redwood trees), chestnuts, beeches, elms, poplars, hornbeam, willows, figs, planes, maples, aloes, magnolia, eucalyptus, plums, almonds and alders, laurels, yews, palms, cactus, snailax, lotus, lilies, ferns, etc. Later on appeared cedars, spurge laurel, evergreen oak, buckthorn, walnut, sumachs, myrtle, mimosa and acacia, birch, hickory, bamboos, rose laurel, tulip trees; and among flowers: buttercups, marsh marigolds, chickweed, mare's tail, dock, sorrel, pondweed, cotton-grass, and royal ferns. Traces of all these trees and plants have not been found in Kashmir, but remains of a great many of them have been discovered, and, as it was linked with Europe where they have been found, there is no doubt that they and the animals now to be described must have grown in the varying altitudes of the now upraised mountains.

This period, as we have seen, is particularly remarkable for the advent of mammals, and there now appeared the earliest representative of the tribe of monkeys; the ancestors of the horse,

about the size of small ponies with three toes on each foot; herds of ancestral hornless deer and antelope; animals allied to our wolves; foxes; numerous hog-like and large tapir-like animals, some the size of elephants with the habit of a rhinoceros; opossums; and representatives of hedgehogs, squirrels, and bats. The reptiles included tortoises and turtles, crocodiles and serpents. Birds had also for some time past developed from reptiles, and now included a kind of albatross and birds allied to the buzzard, osprey, hawk, nuthatch, quail, pelican, ibis, and flamingo.

Later in the same period appeared parroquets, trogons, cranes, eagles, and grouse. And now was the reign of the hippopotamus, while there followed rhinoceros, shrew, moles, and musk-rats. Later still the huge animals with probosces held the first place - the colossal mastodons and troops of elephants. The forests were also tenanted with apes. Other animals were sabre-toothed tigers and the earliest form of bear. Altogether Kashmir would at the time have been a paradise for sportsmen. But man had not yet appeared.

After the mountains had been finally upheaved it is evident, from the existence of those level plateaux of recent alluvial deposit called karewas, that the Kashmir valley must have been filled with a lake to some hundreds of feet higher than the present valley bottom. Where the Jhelum River at present escapes from the valley was then blocked up, and the whole valley filled with what must have been the most lovely lake in the world - twice the length and three times the width of the Lake of Geneva, and completely encircled by snowy mountains as high and higher than Mont Blanc; while in the immediately following glacial period, mighty glaciers came winding down the Sind, Lidar, and other valleys, even to the very edge of the water.

Whether man ever saw this lovely lake it is not yet possible to say. The Glacial period commenced rather more than a quarter of a million years ago, and it was about then that man first appeared, among other places, in the great river valleys of central and southern India, where the climate is not extreme, and wild fruits, berries, etc., were procurable at every season of the year. But when he spread up the valley of the Jhelum to Kashmir we have not yet the means of saying. What appear to be some remains of the handiwork of man were recently found by Mr. Radcliffe in a cave in the Lolab, near the borders of the Wular Lake, and seem to

indicate the presence of man long anterior to the first dawn of Kashmir history. But the dawn of Kashmir history is only 2200 years ago, and man must have appeared 250,000 years before that. For thousands of years he must have been bravely battling against Nature and against the numerous and powerful animals which then lorded over the earth. Slowly he must have made his way from the warm valleys of the Nerbudda and the Ganges to the rivers of the Punjab, and up the Jhelum valley into Kashmir. But he eventually established himself there as the beautiful lake was almost drained away and the Kashmir of the present day was finally evolved.

So we bring up the history of the mountains till it joins with the history of the people; and as the story closes, does not one great thought emerge - the thought of the recentness of man alongside the hoary mountains? During the one hundred million years of the mountains' history mankind has existed only a quarter of a million; and his recorded history extends over not even a hundredth part of a single million years. And if we reflect on this, and consider, too, that the sun's heat will last to render life possible for many millions of years yet, does it not seem almost criminally childish for us - Hindus, Christians, and Mohamedans alike - to be so continually and incessantly looking backward to great and holy men of the past, as if all the best were necessarily behind, instead of sometimes looking forward to the even greater men to *come* - to the higher *species* of men who will yet evolve; of whom our holiest and our greatest are only the forerunners; and for the production of whom it should be our highest duty consciously and of purpose to pave the way, as the poor primitive men, though unconsciously, prepared the ground for the civilised men of today? Ought we not more accurately to adjust our sense of proportion; to rise above the ant-like attitude of mind, and attune our thoughts to the breadth and height of the mountains, to the purity of their snowy summits, and to the clearness of the azure skies they almost seem to touch?

To some the sight of these mountain masses, the thought of the tremendous forces which gave them rise, and of the time their moulding has involved, brings no other feeling than depression. The size, the titanic nature of the forces, and the vastness of the time impress them only with a sense of the littleness of man beside them. But why should the mountains thus depress? Why should not their history bring us the more worthy thought of man's mighty possibilities? For man, small in stature though he may be, is after

all the flower and finish of the evolutionary process so far; he is century by century acquiring a completer mastery over Nature; and when we see how young he is beside the aged mountains, when we realise how they have only evolved by minute gradations accumulating over vast periods of time, and when we reflect that nearly similar periods may yet lie before mankind, should not our thoughts dwell rather on man's future greatness and on the mighty destiny which he himself may shape?

With our imagination tethered to the hard-rock fact that man has developed from a savage to a Plato and a Shakespeare, from the inventor of the stone-axe to the inventory of telegraphy in the paltry quarter million years of his existence, may we not safely give it rope to wander out into the boundless future? We are still but children. We may be only as young bees, crawling over the combs of a hive, who have not yet found their wings to fly out into the sun-lit world beyond. Even now we suspect ourselves of possessing wing-like faculties of the mind whose use we do not know, and to which we are as yet afraid to trust. But the period of our infancy is over. The time to let ourselves go is approaching. Should we not look confidently out into the future and nerve ourselves for bold, unfettered flight?

Francis Younghusband: *Kashmir*

CHAPTER III

ROUTES

LIST OF THE ROUTES GIVEN

1. From Jummoo by Banihal to Sirinagar
2. From Jummoo by Budil to Sirinagar
3. Cross route from Jummoo to Rajaori
4. From Bhimbar by Rajaori and the Pir Panjal to Sirinagar
5. Cross route from Rajaori to Punch
6. From Jhelam by Punch to Sirinagar
7. From Mari to Sirinagar
8. From Abbotabad by Muzafarabad to Sirinagar
9. From Sirinagar to Gilgit and beyond
10. From Sirinagar by Deosai to Skardu
11. From Sirinagar by Dras to Skardu
12. From Sirinagar to Leh
13. From Sirinagar to Kishtwar
14. From Jummoo by Chaneni to Kishtwar
15. From Jummoo by Bhadarwah to Kishtwar
16. From Madhopur by Bhadarwah to Kishtwar
17. From Chamba by Bhadarwah to Kishtwar
18. From Kishtwar by Kargil to Leh
19. From Kishtwar by Zaskar to Leh
20. From Palampur in Kangra by Kulu to Leh
21. From Simla by Wangtu and Spiti to Leh
22. From Leh by Chorbat to Skardu
23. From Leh by Karakoram to Yarkand; summer route
24. From Leh by Karakoram to Yarkand; winter route
25. From Leh by Changehenmo to Yarkand; western route
26. From Leh by Changehenmo to Yarkand; middle route
27. From Leh by Changehenmo to Yarkand; eastern route
28. From Leh to Gar
29. From Palampur by Changehenmo to Yarkand, avoiding Leh
30. From Palampur by Karakoram to Yarkand, avoiding Leh

Route 1. *From Jummoo by Banihal to Sirinagar*
(12 marches: 177 miles)

Jummoo is 90 miles from Lahor and 80 miles from Amritsar; the road from those two places can be traversed by carts and by camels as far as Jummoo, but not beyond.

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
Jummoo	0	1200	-
Dansal	1	1840	17
Kiramchi	2	2500	16
Mir	3	4800	13
Landar	4	4700	11
Bilaut	5	5150	14
Ramban	6	2535	10
Ramsu	7	4070	19
Devgol	8	5580	14
Vernag	9	6000	15
Islamabad	10	5600	15
Avantipur	11	5350	16
Sirinagar	12	5235	17

177

Between stages 4 and 5 the Laru Lari Pass, height 8200 feet, and between 8 and 9 the Banihal Pass, 9200 feet, are crossed. Between 5 and 6 the Chinab is crossed by a wooden bridge.

This road can be traversed by laden ponies, but in many places the way is difficult for them. It is closed for all horses for two months or so from Christmas onwards, on account of the depth of snow on Banihal Pass. For two or three days together it may be closed for men, who cannot cross that Pass when the wind is violent and the snow is deep.

Route 2. *From Jummoo by Budil to Sirinagar*
(12 marches: 129 miles)

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
Jummoo	0	1200	-
Akhnur	1	1142	18
Kapeyanki Bauli	2		7
Pauni	3		8
Chele	4		8
Nar	5		12
Bhagoli	6		8
Budil	7		5
Delhi	8		11
Nazim Garhi	9		14
Shapeyan	10	6715	11
Kahnpur	11		15
Sirinagar	12	5235	12
			129

This is a foot-road, seldom or never used for laden ponies. Akhnur is the more usual starting point for it than Jummoo. Between stages 8 and 9 the Budil Pass, a high Pass, is crossed. It is open for about seven months in the year.

Route 3. *Cross route from Jummoo to Rajaori*
(6 marches: 77 miles)

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
Jummoo	0	1200	-
Akhnur	1	1142	18
Chauki Chora	2	2150	13½
Thandapani	3		13
Dharamsala	4		9½
Syalsui	5		8
Rajaori	6	3094	14
			76

The Chinab is crossed by boat at Akhnur, which is on left bank. The road is fit for laden ponies. At Rajaori we come to stage No. 4 of route 4. By combining the two routes we find that from Jummoo by Rajaori and the Pir Panjal to Sirinagar is 14 marches, 169 miles.

Route 4. *From Bhimbar by Rajaori and the Pir Panjal to Sirinagar*
(12 marches: 148 miles)

Bhimbar is 30 miles from Gujrat on the Grand Trunk Road. Gujrat is 71 miles from Lahor.

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
Bhimbar	0		-
Saidabad	1		15
Naushahra	2		12½
Changas Sarac	3		13½
Rajaori	4	3094	16
Thanna	5		14
Baramgala	6		10
Poshiana	7		10
Aliabad Sarac	8		11
Hirpur	9		14
Shapeyan	10	6715	6
Kahnpur	11		15
Sirinagar	12	5235	12
			148

Between stages 5 and 6 the Ratan Pass, 8200 feet, and between stages 7 and 8 the Pir Panjal, a Pass, 11,400 feet high, are crossed. The road is passable for laden ponies, though in some places rather difficult for them. It is open for about seven months in the year.

Route 5. *Cross route from Rajaori to Punch*
(3 marches: 44 miles)

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
Rajaori	0	3094	-
Thanna	1		14
Seran	2		16
Punch	3	3300	14
			44

Between stages 1 and 2 the Ratan ridge is crossed at about 8000 feet altitude. Laden ponies can go by this road.

By combining route 3, route 5, and route 6 from stage 8 onward, we get this: From Jummoo, by Rajaori and Punch, to Sirinagar, 16 marches, 209 miles. By combining the first four marches of route 4 with route 5 and the last seven marches of route 6, we get: From Bhimbar, by Rajaori and Punch, to Sirinagar, 14 marches, 188 miles.

Route 6. *From Jhelam by Punch to Sirinagar*
(15 marches: 186 miles)

Jhelam is on the Grand Trunk Road, 100 miles from Lahor.

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
Jhelam	0	827	-
Chechian	1		11
Mirpur	2		11
Chaumuk	3	1286	10
Biari	4		7
Sansar	5		14
Kotli	6		15
Saira	7		14
Punch	8	3300	16
Carried forward			98

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
		Brought forward	98
Kahuta	9		9
Aliabad	10		8
Uri	11		17
Naushahra	12		14
Baramula	13		9
Patan	14		14
Sirinagar	15	5235	17
			186

This road is usually practicable for laden ponies. Between stages 10 and 11, the Haji Pass, 8500 feet high, is crossed. On this the snow in winter would render it difficult, if not impassable, for ponies. For the two marches from Baramula to Sirinagar, boats are commonly taken.

Route 7. *From Mari to Sirinagar*
(12 marches: 135 miles)

Mari, or Murree, the well-known hill-station in the British territory, is 40 miles from Rawal Pindi, which is on the Grand Trunk Road. Camels, post carriages, and perhaps carts, can come as far as Mari.

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
Mari	0	7457	-
Deval	1		12
Kohala	2		9
Chatar-Kelas	3		9
Rarui	4		12
Taodali	5		13
Garbi	6		13
Hatti	7		10
Carried forward			78

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
		Brought forward	78
Chakoti	8		15
Uri	9		16
Naushahra	10		14
Baramula	11		9
Patan	12		14
Sirinagar	13	5235	17
			163

Between stages 2 and 3, the Jhelam River used to be crossed by boat; a bridge was being constructed, which may now be ready. The road is good for laden ponies, and is always, or nearly always, open. From stages 8 to 12, the marches are the same as in route 6.

Till a few years ago, the road from Kohala to Chakoti took a different line, the following were the stages:

Kohala to	Chikar
Danna	Hatti
Maira	Chakoti

A day may thus be saved, but at the expense of some labour in going over some high hills.

Route 8. *From Abbotabad by Muzafarabad to Sirinagar*
(11 marches: 156½ miles)

Abbotabad is a Cantonment and Civil Station among the hills in Hazara District, in the British territory

From Rawal Pindi, on the Grand Trunk Road, to Abbotabad, *via* Haripur, is 61 miles.

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
Abbotabad	0	4200	-
Mansera	1		13½
Garhi	2		19
Muzafarabad	3		9
Hatian	4		17
Kanda	5		11
Kathai	6		12
Shadra	7		12
Gingal	8		14
Baramula	9		18
Patan	10		14
Srinagar	11	5235	17
			156½

This is the easiest route from the Panjab to Kashmir. Laden ponies can go over it without difficulty, and it is never stopped by snow.

The last two stages are usually done by water.

Route 9. *From Srinagar to Gilgit and beyond*
a. Srinagar to Gilgit
 (22 marches: 233½ miles)

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
Srinagar	0	5235	-
Sambal	1	5200	17
Bandipur	2	5200	18
Tragbal	3	9160	9
Zotkusu	4		9
Kunzalwan	5		6
Gurez	6	7800	11
Gurikot (of Gurez)	7	9370	11
Mohu Das	8		12

Carried forward

93

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
		Brought forward	93
Camp	9		11
Pukarkot	10	9000	11
Chagam	11	8560	12
Gurikot (of Astor)	12	8058	13
Astor or Hasora	13	7853	7
Harcho	14	6700	11
Mushkin	15		8
Duiyan	16	8720	8½
Ramghat	17		12
Bawanji	18	4645	9
Jagrot	19	6260	12
Camp	20		7
Minawar	21		8
Gilgit	22	4800	11
			233½

These are the stages adopted by the Maharaja's troops. Travelling lightly one may make the distance in fewer days. Thus, No. 4 may be left out; from No. 7 to No. 10 these stages may be adopted: Razhat 16, Pukarkot 18; from No. 13 to No. 16 these: Dashkin 15, Duiyan 12½; and from No. 19 to No. 21 the two marches can be made into one. In this way there would be 18 stages instead of 22. I have myself done the distance in 11 days.

The first two stages are usually done by boat in one night and day.

The greater part of this road, especially after No. 7, is bad for laden ponies; still they commonly traverse it as far as 17. Between Jagrot and Minawar there are some bits that would be dangerous, but a horse without a load may be led over them.

The road is closed by snow for nearly six months - from the middle of November to the middle of May.

Between Nos. 3 and 4, the Rajdiangan Pass, 11,800 feet, and between Nos. 7 and 8, the Kamri Pass, 13,160 feet, are crossed. Hatu Pir is a spur that the road goes over between Nos. 16 and 17; it is about 10,000 feet high; the descent from it to Ramghat is steep and difficult.

b. Srinagar to Gilgit; alternative route
(23 marches: 238½ miles)

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
Srinagar	0	5235	-
To Gurez			
(as in last route)	6		70
Bangla	7	8725	11
Mapanun	8	10130	9
Burzil	9	10740	9
Camp	10		12
Das	11	10500	9
Gudhai	12		12
Naugam	13		8
Astor or Hasora	14	7853	12
Astor to Gilgit			
(as in last route, 9 marches)			
Gilgit	23	4800	86½
			238½

Between Nos. 9 and 10 the Dorikun Pass, 13,500 feet, is crossed.

This road remains open a few weeks later, and re-opens in the spring a little earlier, than the last; it is closed for about five months for horses. During the winter even, with a favourable opportunity, it is possible for men without loads to force the Pass.

c. Gilgit to Yasin
(5 marches: 80 miles)

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
Gilgit	0	4800	-
Shakaiot	1	5560	18
Singal	2	5770	15
Gakuj	3	6920	8
Roshan	4		19½
Yasin	5	7765	19½
			80

This is from my own observation as far as Gakuj; beyond, from Mr. G. W. Hayward's account. The Maharaja's frontier is crossed a few miles beyond Gakuj.

From Yasin a road leads northwards in Wakhan, part of Badakhshan, which crosses the watershed at the third or fourth march from Yasin. Darkot is the last village this side of the Pass.

Another road from Yasin leads first a little way down the Yasin River, and then westward over the Shundar Pass to Mastuj and Chitral.

Route 10. *From Sirinagar by Deosai to Skardu*
(14 marches: 158 miles)

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
Sirinagar	0	5235	-
Sambal	1	5200	17
Bandipur	2	5200	18
Tragbal	3	9160	9
Zotkusu	4		9
Kunzalwan	5		6
Gurez	6	7800	11
Bangla	7	8725	11
Manapun	8	10130	9

Carried forward

80

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
		Brought forward	80
Burzil	9	10740	9
Sikhabach	10	13160	15
Lalpani	11	12500	13
Usar Mar	12	13970	12
Karpitu	13	7636	16
Skardu	14	7440 (town)	3
			158

Up to No. 9 the stages are the same as in Route 9 b, and up to No. 6 they are the same as in Route 9 a. Between Nos. 9 and 10, the Passes called Stakpila (12,900 feet), and Sarsingar (13,860 feet), are traversed. Between Nos. 12 and 13 the Burji Pass, 15,700 feet, is crossed.

Fourteen marches are here put down, but the distance may, without difficulty, be done in twelve, by passing over stage No. 4 or No. 5, and by gaining a march between 10 and 14.

This road is fit for laden ponies; it is closed by snow for about six months from October or November.

Route 11. *From Sirinagar by Dras to Skardu*
(19 marches: 242 miles)

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
Sirinagar	0	5235	-
To Tashgam			
(as in Route 12)	9		115
Karkitchu	10		14
Gangani	11		10
Olting Thang	12		12
Tarkuti	13		14
Kartaksho	14		17
Tolti	15		12
Parkuta	16		14
Carried forward			208

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
		Brought forward	208
Gol	17		13
Kechung	18		17
Skardu	19	7440 (town)	4
			242

Up to stage No. 9 the road is described under Route 12. The remainder of the road is in many parts bad; it is difficult to lead a horse along it. The closing of this road by snow depends on the Dras Pass, the condition of which is spoken of in the route next below.

Route 12. *From Sirinagar to Leh*
(19 marches: 259 miles)

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
Sirinagar	0	5235	-
Gandarbal	1	5230	14
Kangan	2		12
Gund	3		14
Gagangir	4		9
Sonamarg	5	8650	10
Baltal	6		10
Matayan	7		16
Dras	8	9825	15
Tashgam	9	9390	15
Chanegund	10	8675	18
Kargil	11	8787(fort)	6
Shargol	12	10290	20
Kharbu	13	11890	18
Lamayuru	14	11520	16
Nurla	15		18
Saspul	16		17
Nimu	17		13
Pitak	18		13
Leh	19	11500	<u>5</u>
			259

The first stage from Sirinagar to Gandarbal may be reached by boat.

Between Nos. 6 and 7 the Dras or Zoji Pass, 11,300 feet, is passed. Between Nos. 12 and 13, the Namika Pass, 13,000 feet, and between Nos. 13 and 14 the Fotu Pass, 13,400 feet, are crossed. The Indus River is crossed by a wooden bridge between stages 14 and 15.

The road is fit for laden ponies during the summer, but for four or five months from December the snow on the Dras Pass renders it impassable by any but men, and makes it difficult for them.

From stage 14 to stage 19 there is an alternative route thus:

	No.	Miles
Lamayuru	14	
Khalsi	15	12
Timisgam	16	10
Tarutse	17	17
Nimu	18	10
Leh	19	18

Route 13. *From Sirinagar to Kishtwar*
(7 marches: 102 miles)

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
Sirinagar	0	5235	-
Avantipur	1	5350	17
Islamabad	2	5600	16
Wangam	3		17
Wankringi	4		9
Singpur	5		16
Mughal Maidan	6	4140	16
Kishtwar	7	5450	11

102

The first two stages may be done by boat.
Between Nos. 4 and 5 the Marbal Pass, 11,570 feet, is crossed.

Between 6 and 7 two rivers (the Wardwan River and the Chinab) have to be crossed by rope bridges. Horses are made to swim across, but the passage is perilous for them. But for this danger the road would do for laden ponies. It is closed in the winter.

Route 14. *From Jummoo by Chaneni to Kishtwar*
(11 marches: 139 miles)

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
Jummoo	0	1200	-
Dansal	1	1840	17
Udampur	2	2500	14
Balli	3		7
Chaneni	4		14
Batoti	5		12
Asan	6		16
Kullen	7		15
Bheli	8		10
Jangalwar	9	4100	14
Kanani	10	3685	10
Kishtwar	11	5450	10
			139

Parts of this road are bad for horses. It is open all the year round.

Route 15. *From Jummoo by Bhadarwah to Kishtwar*
(11 marches: 129½ miles)

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
Jummoo	0	1200	-
Tutanwali Kui	1		9
Saroinsar	2	1825	8
Chian	3		10
Ramnagar	4	2700	15
Carried forward			42

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet Brought forward	Miles from last stage
Korta	5		42
Dudar	6		13
Asmas	7	9500	14
Bhadarwah	8	5500	10
Jangalwar	9	4100	13
Kanani	10	3685	17½
Kishtwar	11	5450	10
			129½

Between Nos. 5 and 6 a ridge 8000 feet, and between Nos. 7 and 8 Seoji Pass, over 10,000 feet, are crossed.

The road is difficult for ponies. It is closed by snow for three months.

From No. 9 and 11 the route coincides with Route 14, same numbers.

Route 16. *From Madhopur by Bhadarwah to Kishtwar*
(10 marches: 129½ miles)

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
Madhopur	0		-
Thain	1		15
Basoli	2		12
Pud	3		13
Hartli	4		14
Lohang	5		8
Camp	6		16
Bhadarwah	7	5500	14
Kishtwar			
(see Route 15, Nos. 9 to 11)	10	5450	37½
			129½

The Ravi River is crossed, by ford or by ferry, on the first march. Or by another route on left bank it is crossed at Basoli. Between Nos. 3 and 4 a ridge is crossed, and at No. 6 the Chatardhar Pass, 10,100 feet. The road is fit for laden ponies.

Route 17. *From Chamba by Bhadarwah to Kishtwar*
(8 marches: 92½ miles)

Chamba is in the narrow valley of the Ravi, on right bank; it is the residence of the Raja of the Hill principality of Chamba, who is under the British.

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
Chamba	0	3033	-
Manjere	1		14
Digi or Kirah	2		10
Prungul	3		10
Camp	4		9
Bhadarwah	5	5500	12
Kishtwar (see Route 15, Nos. 9 to 11)	8	5450	37½
			92½

Route 18. *From Kishtwar by Kargil to Leh*
(23 marches: 306 miles)

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
Kishtwar	0	5450	-
Phalma	1		6
Ekali	2		14
Sanger	3		16
Hanja	4		15
Petgam	5		13
Carried forward			64

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet Brought forward	Miles from last stage
			64
Camp	6		11
Inshin	7		9
Suknes	8		15
Dumhoi	9		9
Moskolu	10		12
Camp	11		12
Suru	12		10
Sankho	13		18
Camp	14		13
Kargil	15	8787 (fort)	13
Leh (see Route 12, Nos. 12 to 19)	23	11500	120
			206

Between Nos. 10 and 11 we cross the Bhotkol Pass, 14,370 feet. At Kargil the route from Sirinagar to Leh (Route 12) is joined.

From Kishtwar to Kargil the road is not fit for laden animals, but a horse can be led. The road is closed for about six months by the snow on the Bhotkol Pass.

Route 19. *From Kishtwar by Zaskar to Leh*
(27 marches: 298 miles)

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
Kishtwar	0	5450	-
Bagui	1	6150	13
Piyas	2	6320	14
Siri	3	8700	9½
Atholi	4	6360	14
Kundhel	5	7660	11
Machel	6	9700	11
Bujwas	7	11570	8½

Carried forward

81

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
		Brought forward	81
Bugian Hiwan	8	15500	7
Gaura	9		13
Ating	10	12020	10
Sani	11	11560	9
Padam (chief place of Zanskar)	12	11370	9
Thondhe	13		9
Zangla	14		12
Namtse	15	13050	13
Pangatse	16		10
Nira	17	11850	10
Yalchung	18	12730	6
Phutakasa	19	13900	16
Honupatta	20	12400	12
Wanla	21	10900	12
Lamayuru	22	11520	6
Leh (see Route 12, Nos. 15 to 19)	27	11500	66
			298

The following Passes are crossed:

Between stages 8 and 9	Umasi La or Bardhar	17,370 feet
" " 14 " 15	Chelang Labho	14,850 "
" " 16 " 17	Nira	16,000 "
" " 18 " 19	Singhe	16,600 "
" " 19 " 20	A Pass	16,200 "
" " 21 " 22	A Pass	12,500 "

The road is not fit for laden animals, and it would be difficult to lead a horse along it, but this has been done. It is open for four or five months of the year only.

Route 20. *From Palampur in Kangra by Kulu to Leh*
(28 marches; 357 miles)

Palampur is a newly-founded town, about 4,000 feet above the sea, in the centre of the Kangra tea-district. A fair is there held each autumn, which was established to attract Yarkandi merchants from Leh by this route. In some years, it has been attended by them, but, partly from irregularity in the arrival of the Yarkand caravan at Leh, and partly that this road is not open late in the year, the fair has not answered this purpose so well as was expected by its founders; still, it remains a local fair of some importance.

Palampur is about 96 miles from Jalandhar, the nearest railway station; a cart-road joins the two places.

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
Palampur	0		
Baijnath	1		-
Dalu	2		10
Jutingri	3		12
Budwani	4		14
Karam	5		15
Sultanpur (the chief place in Kulu)	6		10
Nagar	7		10
Jagat Sak	8		14
Pulchun	9		8
Rahla	10		10
Kok Sar	11	10261	12
Sisu	12		16
Gandla	13		11
Kardong (Kailang)	14		10
Kulang	15		12
Darcha	16		13
Patsio	17		10
Zingzingbar	18		9
Kanunor Kilang	19		9
Sarchu	20		17
			11

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
		Brought forward	233
Sumdo	21		18
Sumkiel	22		15
Rukchin	23	15000	18
Debring	24		12
Gya	25	13500	16
Machalong	26		23
Chushot	27	10500	12
Leh	28	11500	10
			357

The following Passes are crossed:

Between stages 4 and 5	Bubu	10,000 feet
" " 10 " 11	Rotang	
" " 18 " 19	Bara Lacha	16,200 "
" " 21 " 22	Lachalong	16,600 "
" " 24 " 25	Toglung	17,500 "

The Chinab River is crossed by a bridge between Nos. 10 and 11, and the Indus between Nos. 27 and 28.

This road is fit for camels during the months it remains open; it is closed by snow for about seven months in the year.

It is not till between stages 10 and 11 that the road enters our maps. At stage 20 the road enters the Maharaja's territory.

Route 21. *From Simla by Wangtu and Spiti to Leh*
(34 marches: 430 miles)

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
Simla	0		-
Wangtu	11		121
Dankar in Spiti	18	12774	81
Kaja	19		16
Kiwar	20	13400	12
Jughtha	21	16000	12
Dutung	22	16000	10
Umdung	23		17
Narbu Sumdo	24	15300	20
Kyangdum (S. end of Tsomoriri Lake)	25	14900	11
Karzok	26	14900	13
Puga	27		17
Camp	28		13
Thugji	29	14900	12
Debring	30		14
Gya	31	13500	16
Machalong	32		23
Chushot	33		12
Leh	34	11500	10
			430

This road enters our maps at stage 21. From there the Passes crossed are:

Between stages 21 and 22	Parang	18,300 feet
" " 26 " 27	Dabashi about	16,500 "
" " 27 " 28	Folokonka	16,300 "
" " 30 " 32	Toglung	17,500 "

The first twenty-four marches are in British territory; afterwards the road lies in the Maharaja of Kashmir's territory. On account of the difficulty of the Parang Pass it cannot be traversed by horses. For the same reason, it is only open for a few months in the

summer. The last four marches are the same as the last four of Route 20.

Route 22. *From Leh by Chorbat to Skardu*
(16 marches; 209½ miles)

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
Leh	0	11500	-
Nimu	1		18
Tarutse	2		10
Timisgam	3		17
Khalsi	4		10
Skirbichan	5		16
Goma Hanu	6		17
Camp	7		10
Piun	8		21
Dau	9		9
Sirmu	10		10
Khapalu	11		7½
Karku	12		8
Kuru	13		16
Kiris	14		9
Narh	15		14
Skardu	16	7440	17
			209½

8. The Chorbat Pass, 16,700 feet, is crossed between Nos. 7 and

This is a summer route. In winter the valley of the Indus is followed, but the road is not so good.

Route 23. *From Leh by Karakoamto Yarkand; summer route*
(35 marches; 515 miles)

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
Leh	0	11500	-
Camp	1	15000	12
Khardong	2	13500	15
Khartsar	3	10430	12
Tigar	4	10030	13
Panimik	5		14
Chonglung	6	11500	13
Tutiyalak	7	13000	13
Sarsi-Hauz-i-Khoja	8	15500	12
Brangsa Saser	9	15400	9
Bulak-i-Mughai	10	15100	22
Burtse	11	16000	12
Kizil Angur	12	16700	11
Daulat Beguldi	13	17200	18
Brangsa	14	16500	23
Wahab-jilgah	15	16000	19
Malikshah	16	15300	15
Chibra	17	16480	12
Suket	18	13000	18
Shahdula	19	11500	12
Yarkand	35	4000	240
			515

The Passes crossed are:

Between stages	1 and 2	Khardong	17,500 feet
"	" 8 " 9	Saser	17,500 "
"	" 13 " 14	Karakoram	18,300 "
"	" 17 " 18	Suket	18,200 "
And afterwards, the Sanju Pass			16,760 "
And the Chuchu Pass			11,850 "

The Shayok River is crossed by boat between stages 3 and 4, or in certain seasons, it may be forded a few miles above or below

the ferry.

This road is traversed by laden ponies, but it is usual to have the aid of yaks to carry their loads over the Saer and Sanju Passes. The road keeps open for from four to five months in the year.

From stage 8 to stage 17, there is very little grass to be got, at some stages none at all; and at some, fuel also is wanting. The latter part of the route is beyond the limit of our map.

Route 24. *From Leh by Karakoamto Yarkand; winter route**
(36 marches)

Stage	No.
Leh	0
Sabu	1
Digar	2
Agyam	3
Pakra	4
Chimchak	5
Lamakyent or Shayok	6
Chungjangal	7
Dungyalak	8
Mandarlik	9
Kutaklik	10
Sultan Chushkum	11
Duhn-i-Murghi	12
Bulak-i-Murghi	13
Burtse	14
Kizil Angur	15
Daulat Beguldi	16
Brangsa	17
Wahab-jilgal	18
Malikshah	19
Kafalong	20
Jindbalghun	21
Bukharuldi	22
Kirgiz-jangal	23
Yarkand	36

*This is taken from the Panjab Trade Report, 1862. I have not put in the distances there given, as they are not to be relied on. The information was from Muhammad Amin, who was familiar

with the road and has doubtless given the stages correctly.

From stage 13 to 19, this route coincides with stages 10 to 16 of Route 23.

The Passes crossed are:

Between stages 1 and 2 Digar Pass
 " " 16 " 17 Karakoram 18,300 feet
 Afterwards, the Yangi Pass, and the Tup Diwan

This road is fit for laden ponies; it is open from November till February. There are many places where grass and fuel are scant, and some where they are absolutely wanting. The latter part of the route is beyond the limit of our map.

Route 25. *From Leh by Changchenmo to Yarkand;*
western route
 (40 marches; 610 miles)

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
Leh	0	11500	-
Tikso	1		13
Chimre	2		16
Zingral	3		11
Tsultak	4		13
Durgo	5		16
Tanktse	6	12800	7
Camp	7		11
Lukung	8	14086	11
Charkang	9	16700	14
Gunle	10	16140	13
Tsolu (near Pamzal)	11	14760	12
Gogra	12	15500	14
Carried forward			151

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
		Brought forward	151
Camp	13	16500	21
Camp	14	17000	20
Sumdo	15	17000	25
Shinglung	16	16700	11
Kizil Jilgah	17	16500	14
Khushk Maidan	18	15600	18
Shor Jilgah	19	15900	14
Karatagh Lake	20	16900	17
Malikshah	21	15300	25
Shahdula (see Route 23, Nos. 17 to 19)	24	11500	54
Yarkand	40	4000	240
			610

The Passes crossed are:

Between stages 3 and 4	Chang	18,000 feet
" " 9 " 10	Masimik	18,200 "
" " 13 " 14	A Pass	18,000 "
" " 16 " 17	Kizil	17,800 "
" " 19 " 20	Karatagh	
Afterwards, the Suket Pass		18,200 "
The Sanju Pass		16,760 "
And the Chuchu Pass		11,850 "

This is the road indicated by Dr. Cayley and traversed by Mr. Forsyth's party on their journey, in 1870. It is thought to be the easiest of the roads to Yarkand; it can be traversed by camels of the two-humped species; fuel and grass are wanting at two or three stages only. It would be closed in the winter.

Route 26. *From Leh by Changchenmo to Yarkand;*
Hayward's route
 (36 marches; 546½ miles)

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
Leh	0	11500	-
Gogra	12	15500	151
Chonglung	13		17
Nischu	14		15
Lingzhithang	15		21
Burtse	16		10½
Karasu	17		10
Kizil Jilgah	18		14½
Khushk Maidan	19		16
Shor Jilgah	20		10
Oglok	21		21
Wahabjilgah	22		10
Aktagh	23		15½
Yarkand	36		235
			546½

This road was found out and recommended by Mr. Hayward.

From Aktagh to Yakrand either the summer or the winter route (Route 23 or Route 24) may be followed.

Route 27. *From Leh by Changchenmo to Yarkand;*
eastern route
 (43 marches; 628 miles)

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
Leh	0	11500	-
Gogra	12	15500	151
Chonglung	13	16760	17
Nischu	14	17700	15
Carried forward			183

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
		Brought forward	183
Lingzhithang	15	17300	21
Tsothang	16	17100	18
Lokzhung	17	17200	16
Thaldat	18	16300	15
Yangpa	19	16200	30
E. Karakash Valley	20	15000	24
Shahdula	27	11500	81
Yarkand	43	4000	240
			628

This is the road over the great plateaus; it is the one that was taken by Adolphe Schlagintweit and imperfectly described by Muhammad Amin, his guide (Panjab Trade Report); afterwards Mr. Johnson traversed it on his way to Khutan and gave a detailed Itinerary (Journal R. Geographical Society, 1867). The details of distances and heights here given, for as far as the E. Karakash Valley, are from my own observation.

A diversion from or loop in this route was made by Dr. Cayley: this also I have traversed. The distances and heights are as follows:

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
Thaldat	18	16300	-
Patsalung	19	16400	20
Camp	20	15900	21
E. Karakash Valley	21	15000	12

Route 28. *From Leh to Gar*
(20 marches; 254 miles)

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage
Leh	0	11500	-
Chushot	1		10
Machalong	2		12
Gya	3	13500	23
Debring	4		16
Thugji	5	14900	14
Camp	6		12
Puga	7		13
Maiya	8		13
Nimu	9		12
Camp	10		17
Camp	11		17
Dora	12	13800	10
Tashigong	17		55
Gar	20		30
			254

This is Lower Gar, the winter station.

Route 29. *From Palampur by Changehenmo to Yarkand,*
avoiding Leh (65 marches; 923 miles)

Stage	No.	Miles from last stage
Palampur	0	-
Machalong	26	335
(See Route 20)		
Chimre	27	7
Shahdula	49	341
(See Route 25)		
Yarkand	65	240
		923

Either this route or the same with a deviation to the eastward was intended as the trade-route provided for in the Commercial Treaty between the Governor-General and the Maharaja.

Route 30. *From Palampur by Korakoram to Yarkand, avoiding Leh* (62 marches; 870 miles)

Stage	No.	Miles from last stage
Palampur	0	-
Machalong (See Route 20)	26	335
Chimre	27	7
Tagnak	28	10
Tainyar	29	20
Tsati	30	20
Tigar	31	15
Shahdula (See Route 23)	46	223
Yarkand	62	240
		870

This might be used as an alternative to the last if it were advisable to go by Korakoram rather than by Changehenmo. Between Nos. 28 and 29 the Waris La is crossed, an easy Pass, 17,200 feet high, which is now fit for laden ponies and might easily be made fit for camels; it is closed by snow for three months. The distance between Tagnak and Tsati (40 miles) can also conveniently be divided into three marches of 13 or 14 miles each.

Frederick Drew: *The Jummoo & Kashmir Territories*

CHAPTER IV

KASHMIR, ANCIENT AND MODERN

As we have now seen something of the beautiful country, and have a nodding acquaintance with the people of the valley and the hills, it may be well to look backwards into their past history, so that we may understand something of their character. Kashmir fortunately possesses an ancient history, and a civilisation more ancient than our own. There are many legends of prehistoric times when the Vale of Kashmir was a vast lake and was inhabited by a great snake.

Here is one of their legends.

According to the earliest traditional account this lake occupied the place of Kashmir Valley. A demon called Jallodbhava (water-born) resided in this lake. This demon caused great distress to all the neighbouring countries by his devastations. At last Kashyapa Muni implored Shiva to help him to kill the demon. His prayer was granted, and he succeeded in getting the demon killed, with the help of the gods, near Kaunsar-nag. Shiva made an exit near Baramulla with his trident, the water rushed out and the land thus produced became inhabitable.

At first men dwelt in it for six months only in the year and left Kashmir for the six months of winter, when it was occupied by *peschachas* (demons).

Ultimately the people, through Nilanaga's favour, got rid of these demons, on condition that the people performed certain rites and ceremonies for the good of these demons, during winter months, and thus the country became habitable throughout the year. These rites are still performed by the Hindus of Kashmir. They are:

1. *Kechi Mavas*. It occurs in the month of January. A sort of pudding, or polao, is cooked, and in an earthen-tray is placed in the middle of the compound for the demons. A line is drawn round the whole house with lime. It is believed that these demons have no power to step over this magical line.

2. *Gada Bata*. The Hindus cook rice and fish in the dark fortnight of January. A big bowl full of rice and fish, both cooked

and uncooked, is placed in the uppermost storey of the house. A lamp is kept burning and no one is allowed to sleep in that place. The cats generally enjoy a good feast. In the morning the members of the family go up to inspect the place, and they are satisfied to see the bowl empty, thinking it has been eaten by the demons.

3. *Kawa Punim*. This ceremony is generally performed in the month of February. Rice is cooked and formed into balls. These balls of rice are placed in a kind of big spoon made of twigs and grass, and are put in a prominent place in the house for the goblins in the shape of crows. The children recite this lullaby: "Come! O you crows which are very fond of pudding; bathe in the waters of Gangabal; put on a teka of brown clay, bring your she-crows with you, perch yourselves on the eaves of our houses and enjoy a good feast."

Geological observations prove the former existence of a great lake. The lacustrine deposits are undoubtedly found in the karewa plateaux everywhere. Ancient Kashmir has long been under the sway of various *bona fide* rajas. The first raja that appears on the pages of documentary tradition is Adgonand, who ascended the throne in 4249 B.C., at a time when Egypt was ruled by demigods. He was succeeded by his son Danudar, who was killed by the Yadhus, the tribe to which Krishna belonged.

Buddhism was introduced into Kashmir by Asoka in 308 B.C. The founder of this religion was Sakhi Muni Gaotam, later on called Buddha. He was a prince of a secluded kingdom near Nepal, and lived about the time of the "Captivity of the Jews". Raja Jaluki, the grandson of Asoka and the conqueror of Bactria, spread this faith all over the country. Buddhist missionaries were sent to India to teach them "The Way".

The Tartars invaded the valley about the commencement of our era. Three of their kings are supposed to have ruled simultaneously. They are: Hushka, who founded Aushkar near Badgam; Zashka, who founded Zukar near the Nasim Bagh, and Kanishka, who founded Kanspur. These kings were very popular in Kashmir.

Kashmir was under the rule of white Huns during the first half of the sixth century, about the time of the conquest of England by the Saxons. Their king, Mehrakula, was notorious for his cruelty and violence. Buddhism declined during the time of Shankracharya in the eighth century.

and making paper. Up to his time the Hindu scribes used to write their scriptures on birch-bark.

From his time to the time of Akbar the Great, Kashmir was ruled by different Mohammedan kings, both native and foreign. During their rule the poor Hindus, the victims of their wrath, were more or less harassed and embarrassed. They pillaged their houses, oppressed them without scruple and insulted them without compunction. Akbar was the contemporary of "Queen Bess" of England. He conquered Kashmir in 1587. He built the wall round Hari Parbat Hill in the city. Throughout the Mogul period the Hindus enjoyed some security of person and property. They were entrusted with high Government posts. It was Akbar who was pleased with their erudition and intelligence and gave them the surname of Pandits (learned men).

During the reign of his son Jahangir, who laid out many lovely gardens and villas in Kashmir, the Subadar of this place was enamoured by the beauty of a Hindu girl. When he could not obtain her consent without making trouble he had resource to a clever trick, as he thought. He persuaded an old Mohammedan woman to appear veiled before his court and she, personating the aforesaid Hindu girl, professed her love for the Subadar and was ready to marry him, but was prevented by her father under the influence of his co-religionists. The Subadar obtained a rewayet (order) from the mullahs permitting him to marry the girl without her father's consent. He then sent troops to the house of the innocent girl to seize her by force and bring her to his harem. His orders were promptly executed. The father of the girl was a discreet person. He made no fuss but, through his daughter, requested the Subadar to wait six months, which he readily agreed to, from the fear of the King. Meanwhile her father quietly set out for Agra, to Jahangir. When he reached the palace he rang the bell which Jahangir had attached to his private chambers and told the Emperor the whole story of this villainy. Jahangir, ease-loving as he was, at once mounted his famous dromedary and, attended by a few of his bodyguard, journeyed to Kashmir in disguise. When he reached Srinagar he went straight to the house of the Mohammedan woman who had personated the Hindu girl, and pretending to be a foreigner, and giving her some pieces of gold to prepare some food for him, he made her relate the whole story. The Emperor spent the night in her house. In the morning he put

on his Court dress and went to the imperial palace. It was at once rumoured that the Emperor was there. The Subadar and other high officials, in consternation, presented themselves and paid their homage to their liege lord.

The Emperor as usual asked them if all was well, and while this conversation was proceeding, the Hindu, as prearranged, submitted his complaint against the Subadar. As a matter of course the Subadar tried to convince the King that the kafir (infidel) had told abominable lies and put before the King the futwa (decree) of the mullahs. The King at once summoned the woman in whose house he had passed the night. The woman at once recognised her guest and she, without any hesitation, divulged the whole secret before all the courtiers. The Subadar was dumbfounded. The Emperor summoned all the mullahs. They too could do naught but confess their crime. Then and there Jahangir struck off the head of the sinful Subadar with his own hand. He arrested all the mullahs and had them led in chains to a place outside Akbar's wall, round Hari Parbat, and there had them blown to pieces from a big gun. They were buried, without any funeral rites, in the same place. From that time the place received the name of Mullah Khah. Jahangir's son, Shah Jahan, built many palaces and laid out many gardens in the Happy Valley. His son, Aurangzeb, who ascended the throne in 1658, and who was the contemporary of Charles II, James II and William III of England, again began to persecute the Hindus in Kashmir and elsewhere.

Kashmir remained under the tyranny of the Mogul Subadars up to the year 1751, when it was conquered by Ahmad Shah Durani, who assassinated his own master, Nadir Shah, soon after 1738. With this murderer and his Afghan successors returned the evil days of the Hindus.

* * * * *

To take revenge the Sikhs in their turn persecuted the Mohammedans. During this time the Mohammedans could not freely offer prayers.

After the first Sikh war Kashmir was ceded to the British, who sold it to Maharajah Gulab Singh in 1846. The grandson of this Raja is the present Maharajah of Kashmir.

His Highness the Maharajah General Sir Pratab Singh, who ascended the Gadhi in the year 1886, is ruler over a large tract of country the size of England and Scotland, which includes, besides the Vale of Kashmir, Jammu, Poonch, Ladakh, Baltistan and all the states included in the Gilgit Agency, with a population of over three millions. His Highness is aided in the government of his state by three ministers - the Chief, Revenue and Home Minister, men who have been selected by the Indian Government and approved of by his Highness.

Then there is the British Resident, who is the King's representative and has the assistance of other British officers. One is his personal assistant. There are also the Resident of Poonch State, the Resident of Ladakh and Baltistan and the Agent of Gilgit, which includes all the mountain states, Chilas, Hunzar Nagar, etc. Since the year 1890 there have been thirteen Residents. On my arrival here Colonel Parry Nisbet was the Resident, and a great personality he was, for it was through his tact and energy that the Jhelum Valley cart-road was cut along the mountain-sides from Domel to Baramulla, a magnificent piece of engineering, the work of the State Engineer, Mr. Alkinson, and carried through by Spedding & Co., contractors.

The Resident's position is not altogether an easy one, for it is one requiring much tact, patience and courage.

It would be invidious to single out those who have done especially good work. Some of course have possessed stronger characters than others, and have consequently left their mark for good on the country, and their memory in the hearts of the people.

There are also British advisers in the various departments of the State, such as the Army, P.W.D. Accountants, Land Settlement, etc.

The heir to the Gadhi is General Prince Sir Hari Singh, K.C.S.I., son of the late Sir Raja Amar Singh, who was a man of power. The young Prince is a sportsman, and possesses a keen sense of justice and plenty of common sense.

C.E. Tyndale-Biscoe: *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*

Note: The scholar's statements on Hazrat Shah Hamdan's, socio-cultural and political events are not documented.

Editors

CHAPTER V

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR METHODS

"The Kingdom of Cashmere may be reckoned as a terrestrial paradise. It is entirely enclosed with high mountains which separate India from Tartary; insomuch, that there is no entrance on any side, but over rocks of prodigious height. It consists, in a manner, of one valley of surprising fertility and beauty. The air is temperate and charming, it is neither visited with scorching heat nor the vicissitude of extreme cold. A thousand little springs which issue on all sides from the mountains form there a fine river, which, after watering the plains of this delightful country, falls down rocks of an astonishing height into the river Indus. The inhabitants are astonishingly handsome, and the women especially, enchantingly beautiful. The Cashmerians, moreover, are extremely ingenious, and carry the arts of civil life to high perfection. Their beauty, in short, says a Persian author, makes them appear to be of divine race, and their charming country furnishes them with the life of gods." (Dow's *History of Hindustan*, Vol. 1, p. 41)

As regards the appearance of the Kashmiris of to-day, some are possessed of finely chiselled features and a somewhat Grecian type of face. Some indeed are very handsome; but the astonishingly handsome and enchantingly beautiful national type is apparently as dead as the Persian author in question. Of course, after reading some of the descriptions of the inhabitants one is apt to forget that the lapse of a few centuries, the ravages of invasions, pestilences, and terrible oppression and poverty, must needs alter the physical characteristics of nations. If one expects on arriving in Srinagar, to find the odiferous banks of the river lined with divine creatures, one is liable to get a shock.

At school we learned that when the Romans, after their invasion of our country, took some English children over to sell as slaves in the market-place in Rome, everyone was struck with their extreme beauty, fair skins and golden hair, and said, upon hearing that they were called Angles - "Angels, not Angles".

Yet, if a Roman of to-day read that description and landed in a London Dock hoping to see on every side people of angelic fairness, I am thinking he would doubt the veracity of the statements of his forefathers.

A foreigner describes the typical Englishman thus: - "Big, broad-shouldered, fair-haired, and blue-eyed"; but the average bottle-shouldered, weedy, cigarette-smoking, sickly youth one so often sees, would disappoint anyone who arrived in the anticipation of finding every Englishman a healthy young giant.

A propos, a cousin of mine married a Frenchman, whose six feet five inches made him conspicuous in Paris, but he looked forward with great enthusiasm to his first visit to London, where he felt he would pass unnoticed in the streets.

Imagine therefore his intense surprise on finding, while searching for the huge physiques he had expected to see everywhere, that everyone turned to look at him!

Is it a question of the type having died out, or that the standard of the type was created from a few perfect specimens?

It is surprising to see how quickly types will alter. We have only need to look at the pictures of our great-grandmothers to notice the vast change among ourselves. Those sweet, little ultra-refined women would have doubtless fainted right away in spite of the ever-handly "Vinegarettes", burnt feathers, and so forth, had they been permitted a glimpse into the future and seen their great-granddaughters riding bicycles, playing hockey, or sitting with cigarettes between their lips in the smoking-rooms of their clubs, instead of making samplers by day and eloping to Gretna Green by night, as they did in the "good old days".

Ah, me! Those dear, loving little creatures and veritable Empire builders are becoming extinct, and more is the pity of it. Of course, most of us would not wish to change our freedom for their somewhat dull existence, but for all that, is the change an improvement?

The men and women of Kashmir wear a universal costume; it is a kind of loose frock, which hangs straight from the shoulders and reaches to about five to six inches above the ankles. The legendary origin of the dressing alike of both sexes is a quaint one. When Akbar conquered Kashmir, the inhabitants were not a trained, military people themselves, and left the towns and villages unprotected against the invading army. Akbar, who was a great

fighter, despised them for showing the white feather, and said that men who showed such cowardice were not fit to wear the clothes of men, and issued a command that they were henceforth to don the garb of women. Ever since then their costumes have apparently never changed.

The same story is told in connection with the invasion of Alexander the Great, though history does not, I believe, record Kashmir as one of his conquered provinces. There is rather a big lapse of years between the reigns of Alexander and Akbar, but as they both were great warriors and mighty Emperors, I thought I would credit them both with the very masculine, and for that matter, feminine sentiment against cowards.

The natives of India and Kashmir are noted for their extravagant compliments, and address their letters in wonderful language. My syce addressed me as "Honnnnnored Sir". On one occasion they presented a petition to a judge, which concluded with, "If your Lordship will grant us our petition we will for ever pray for you to Almighty God - a gentleman whom your honour very much resembles".

Another Indian wrote, "You have been very good and kind to me; may God Almighty give you tit-for-tat".

On one occasion they presented a petition to my brother, which concluded with, "To-morrow we will prostrate ourselves at your Lordship's golden feet".

My mother, who has a reverence for those who inherit the sublime instincts of an ancient race, and in our travels gleans all that she can of the people we meet, often expressed admiration for the Northern Indians with their picturesque appearance, natural quiet dignity and salaams. We seemed to be meeting daily the old-world people of the Bible - Boaz with the reapers, Joseph and his brethren, and Joseph with Mary and the child riding upon an ass.

It is said these Indian people have stood still for a thousand years and never progressed. They use the same old yokes of oxen, implements, and plough-shares.

Yet they are most interesting. Here I will quote some of their oldest Hindu proverbs, translated from the Sanscrit:

"Bow only to truth. Truth is the final way. Truth is eternal. Truth is the highest sacrifice, for all is founded on and upheld by truth. Truth is the name of that which is unperishing, unchanging, eternal."

The Sikhs have also a proverb - "Truth is like the turban, it is beautiful upon the head."

There are several Kashmir proverbs also, which exhort one to cultivate the finer instincts:

"O, good man, do good, the wicked will receive his deserts."

"God is pleased with good people."

"A deceiver deceives himself."

There are two more proverbs of this country which are applicable to all other nations:

"All men show the blind man the way, but nobody can show the man without understanding."

"He who is gentle is a gentleman."

Some of these proverbs have also been gleaned by the Rev. J. Hinton Knowles, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., who was a missionary to the Kashmiris, and collected the folk-lore of the valley. His book is full of interesting details, and those who care for old-world ideas cannot do better than read his "Kashmiri Proverbs - from the Folk-lore of the Valley".

I must not forget to mention the noble and good work of Dr. Neve, with his hospital for the poor Kashmiris. The following amusing story was told to us of a Kashmiri who was ill in the hospital for several weeks, and during that time Dr. Neve provided for the sick man's wife and family. When the man recovered and had to leave, he wept because he was not paid for the *time* that he was lying ill in the hospital. There is also Mr. Biscoe's good school for the young men.

It is said that "Good men's deeds shall live beyond our ken".

* * * * *

A baby girl is very much in the way, and as in our own country for some unknown reason, the birth of a son is always heralded with joy, though no one ever seems to know why this should be the case. Perhaps it began through sympathy, who knows?

The prayer of a North American Indian woman was, "Let not my child be a girl, for very sad is the life of a woman".

Maybe, the women of the East felt so sorry for themselves that they, too, did not wish their children to be girls. And so for generations the desire has continued until now the baby girl is of no account.

In some parts of India, Madras especially, women are simply beasts of burden, and it is pitiful to see them carrying great loads on their heads.

The following will show how little is thought of the weaker sex in Madras.

One day we went out to choose a piano, and as it was a full-size grand, quite naturally expected it would be sent out by a bullock waggon, more especially as the distance was about six miles. However, the following day, in the full glare of the mid-day sun, round the bend of the drive appeared the piano carried upon the heads of women. To be sure, there were two men, but they came to superintend, give orders and shout.

When I exhibited sympathy for these unfortunate women coolies and paid double their due, they accepted with avidity, but stared with astonishment at what they evidently thought to be a mad Miss-Sahib. The bearer looked annoyed, and the ayah said, "What for Missie giving so much to coolie women? Missie, done give it too much".

We were particularly struck, during the first few weeks of our visit, by seeing men walking empty-handed along the road, while their wives followed, carrying all the necessary burdens for the journey. Of course, there are gilded exceptions here and there.

Little girls of two or three years are made to work in various ways. We saw one little girl, not more than *four* years old, take a shikara across the river to meet her father. Mid-way it stuck on a mud-bank; she lifted her little skirt, stepped into the water, and after great efforts got the boat off, jumped in again, and continued her journey, amid cheers from her family.

In studying different nations, it is interesting to note that in every case where the women are crushed, the nation falls and never progresses. When the woman's soul is crushed the "spirit" of a nation is dead. It still goes on existing, but attains nothing. Of course, many of the Eastern nations were in the zenith of their fame long before ours was ever heard of, but with their success and grandeur, came in nearly all cases, a contempt for women and a laxity of that high moral standing which had, in most cases, built the fine characters who carried these Empires through times of distress, war, and famine to ultimate success.

Some of the old Hindu proverbs in favour of women are very good, and here I will quote some extracts from the translation of

the "Mahabharata" - an ancient epic.

"Women must be honoured and adorned by their fathers, brothers, husbands, and brothers-in-law, who desire welfare."

"When the female relatives live in grief, the family perishes utterly, but that family in which they are happy, prospers ever."

"The house in which female relatives, not being duly honoured, pronounce a curse, perishes completely, as if destroyed by magic."

Napoleon's saying, that "The hand that rocks the cradle, rules the world", has a vast amount of truth in it. When in the East, one realises how important a part in the welfare of a nation the mothers play, or *ought* to play. But if they are trained from their earliest childhood to regard themselves practically as slaves and of no importance, how can they train their sons to have respect for women, without which they can have no ideals.

It is true that ideals are often shattered to pieces, and lie scattered at one's feet, but it is the ardent desire to attain them be they of religion, love, patriotism, victory in war, or in any other state of life, that has made men do, dare, or die in accomplishing great deeds.

Man is woman's superior mentally and physically. The Creator of all things built man with the strength to fight and the physique to be brave and face the stern conflict of life, and to do the rough and heavy duties thereof without danger. Woman's physical weakness and suffering accentuate her spirituality and intuition, which, being her strongest characteristics, were evidently intended to assist men in their enterprise.

* * * * *

The natives are very fond of a Timasha or fête, where they wear gorgeous clothes and sprinkle scent upon each other, and in Kashmir they often celebrate great occasions by a trip on the river.

On one occasion we heard the beating of drums and strains of music skimming past our house-boat, and on looking out saw a boat-load of men in brilliant costumes. Our bearer told us it was a wedding party going up the river for three days, and pointed out the young bridegroom, sitting in state in the middle of the boat, dressed in orange silk. We asked where the bride was, and he told us she was left at home. It seems rather a one-sided sort of a honeymoon, when the bridegroom goes away and thoroughly enjoys

himself with his friends, while the bride remains at home. It must be so very cheerful for her! As a rule the man does not see his future wife before the marriage, all arrangements being made by the parents, but as it is more of a business affair than a love-match, probably this does not matter much.

One evening, while out for a ramble, we came upon a kind of mud building lighted up with little lamps to look like Earl's Court, and found a wedding was about to take place.

Further on we met the blind-folded bridegroom being led by his mother and father. He appeared to be objecting strongly, and kept stopping and crying in the road, until his mother boxed his ears soundly, and then he went like a lamb. A few minutes later we heard the piercing shrieks of a girl who evidently was not at all keen to be married, so we came to the conclusion that his parents had some cows, while hers owned the fields in which the cows grazed, and they could not come to terms, so married off their children in order to amalgamate and settle everything to everybody's satisfaction, except unfortunately, the principal characters.

The music at these gay scenes usually goes on for hours into the early morning, and consists of much thrumming of drums. I remember our ayah down country, asked us to write to the hotel manager to get permission for native musicians to play in the compound to celebrate her daughter's wedding, and upon being asked how long it would go on, she replied, "Only till four in the morning, Miss Sahib". Only!

In Indian music there is much beating of time upon the drum, especially at wedding-feasts. We often thought that the bride received brass cooking-pots as gifts, and these were solemnly beaten for half the night to celebrate the joyous event.

Florence Parbury: *Emerald Set with Pearls*

CHAPTER VI

THE DARDIC OR PISĀCHA LANGUAGES

INTRODUCTION

The word 'Dard' has a long history, and the people bearing the name are a very ancient tribe. They are mentioned by Herodotus, though not by name, and are the Daradrai of Ptolemy, the Derdai of Strabo, the Dardæ of Pliny and Nonnus, and the Dardanoi of Dionysios Periêgêtês. In Sanskrit literature they are spoken of as 'Dārada' or 'Darad', which name is of frequent occurrence not only in geographical works, but also in the epic poems and in the Purānas. Kalhana, in his History of Kashmīr entitled the Rāja-taranginī, often refers to them under the name of 'Dāradas' or 'Darads', and mentions them as inhabiting the country where we now find the Shins who at the present day are still called Dards. To the Greek and Roman writers, the word had a wider signification and included not only the predecessors of the Shins, but also the people whose seat was in the country that we now call Chitral. In other words, under the name of the Dard country, they included the whole mountainous tract between the Hindūkush and the frontiers of India proper. Accordingly, at the present day this tract is known as 'Dardistān', - a conventional and convenient name, though, as it includes much country not occupied by Dards proper, not strictly accurate. Following the example of the extended connotation of the word 'Dardistān', it is convenient to give the general name 'Dardic' to all the Aryan languages spoken in this tract.

As we shall see in the following pages, this tract was once inhabited by tribes whom Sanskrit writers grouped together under the title of 'Pisācha'. Clear traces of the language of these tribes are to be found in the modern languages of the locality, and for this reason, in earlier volumes of this Survey, I have called these modern tongues the 'Pisācha languages'. This name is eminently suitable, and is more accurate than 'Dardic', but some of the speakers of these languages take exception to it on the ground that,

in Indian mythology, the word 'Piśācha' was also used to connote a cannibal demon, and it must be admitted that this was the most common acceptation of the word. In such circumstances, it is useless to explain that a tribe speaking a Piśācha language is not necessarily of Piśācha descent. In some cases, indeed, it would be easy to prove the reverse. But the argument is not accepted, and objections are raised to the use of the name 'Piśācha'. I therefore, in this volume, abandon, so far as I can, the use of this word as a name for this sub-family of languages, and employ the name 'Dardic' instead.

This Dardic, or Piśācha, sub-family of Aryan languages is spoken almost entirely beyond the boundaries of British India proper, on the North-Western Frontier. It includes the following languages:

A. Kānr Group, -

- (1) Bashgali
- (2) Wai-alā
- (3) Wasī-veri or Veron
- (4) Ashkund
- (5) Kalāshā-Pashai Sub-group, viz:
 - (a) Kalāshā
 - (b) Gawar-bati or Narsātī
 - (c) Pashai, Laghmānī, or Dēhgānī
 - (d) Dīrī
 - (e) Tīrāhī

B. Khō-wār, Chitrālī, or Arniyā

C. Dard Group, i.e. the Dard languages, proper, -

- (1) Shinā
- (2) Kāshmīrī
- (3) Kōhistānī.

ASHKUND, DĪRĪ AND TĪRĀHĪ

Specimens of most of these will be found below. No specimens could be obtained of Ashkund, a Kāfir language which is said to resemble Bashgali; of Dīrī, the language of Dīr; or of Tīrāhī, of the former inhabitants of Tīrā in the Afridī country, who are now settled in Nigrahār. Nothing whatever is known about Ashkund. Short vocabularies of Dīrī and Tīrāhī have been given by Leech on

pp. 783 and 784 of Vol. vii (1838) of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. These two languages are provisionally placed in the Kalāshā-Pashai Sub-Group.

The first four languages of the Kāfir Group are all spoken in Kafiristan. Bashgalī and Wai-alā are closely connected, while Wasī-veri shows important points of difference from these two. In some particulars (*e.g.* the frequent change of *d* to *l*) it shows striking points of agreement with East Eranian languages. As for the languages of the Kalāshā-Pashai sub-group, they have certain points of agreement amongst themselves, and with the other known Kāfir languages, but they have all fallen under the influence of their respective neighbours. Pashai is spoken on the north side of the Kabul river, immediately to the south of Kafiristan, and is affected by Pashtō. Kalāshā is spoken in the country between the Bashgal valley and Chitral and is affected by the Khō-wār immediately to its east. Gawar-bati, spoken further south, on the left bank of the Chitral river, is not only affected by Khō-wār, but also by the neighbouring Kōhistānī.

KHŌ-WĀR

Khō-wār is the language of the Chitral country and of the neighbourhood. While in all respects a most typical Dardic language, it occupies a somewhat independent position in regard to the others, although it has some points in common with the Kāfir Group. From the Dard languages it is separated by great mountain barriers, and has little directly in common with them. Of all the Dardic languages, it is the one most nearly related to the Eranian Ghalchah languages spoken north of the Hindu Kush.

THE DARD GROUP

The Dard Group includes the languages of Dardistān proper, in its narrowest sense; that is to say, of the Shinā-speaking parts of Gilgit, Gurez, Chilas and the Indus and Swat Kohistan. It does not include the Hunza-Nagar country to the north of Gilgit or the Chitral territory to its west. With the exception of Kāshmīrī, the languages belonging to the Dard Group, proper, are at the present day almost entirely confined to this tract.

SHINĀ

Shinā is the truest example of the Dard languages proper. Its standard form may be assumed to be that spoken round Gilgit, but it has several dialects, including those of Astor, Gurez, and Chilas, and the so-called 'Brōkpā' of Dras and Dah Hanū. The last named is spoken by an isolated colony of Shins on the Eastern border of Baltistan, and is much mixed with Tibetan.

KĀSHMĪRĪ

Kāshmīrī is the language of the Valley of Kashmīr and of the neighbouring valleys. Although it has a Dard basis, it has come to a large extent under the influence of the Indo-Aryan languages spoken to its south. It is the only one of the Dardic languages that has a literature.

KŌHISTĀNĪ

Kōhistānī is the original language of the Indus and Swat Kohistans, and, though the speakers are Shins, it is being rapidly superseded by Pashtō. In the Swat Kohistan is now spoken only by scattered tribes. It is divided into several dialects, of which Gārwi, Tōrwālī, Chilis, and Maiyā are described in this Survey. These dialects are all closely connected with Shinā, but, being on the Indian frontier, are much mixed with Pashtō and Indian forms, and are now no longer pure examples of Dard speech.

Except for Shinā and Kāshmīrī no information is available as to the number of speakers of the Dardic language. In the Census of 1911, 21,562 speakers of Shinā were recorded, nearly all being inhabitants of the Gilgit country, but no enumeration was made in several tracts in which Shinā is the vernacular. Kāshmīrī is estimated to be spoken by 1,195,902 people.

To readers of Indian literature the Pisāchas are well-known. They are described as a clan of Demons, of terrific appearance and brutal character. The name is said to imply that they were eaters of raw flesh. Various localities are mentioned as their habitat, some Sanskrit writers placing them in the North-West, and others in the Vindhya Hills. A language, which was evidently a real form of speech and not an artificial gibberish, was attributed to them,

and named *Paiśāchī*. It was classed as one of the Prakrits, *i.e.* as a debased Sanskrit, and to this we owe brief and incomplete accounts of it in the works of ancient Indian Grammarians. A sub-dialect of it was known as *Chūlikā-Paiśāchikā*, which carried the characteristic peculiarities of *Paiśāchī* to an extreme.

This *Paiśāchī* was not really a Prakrit, in the usual sense of the word. It was a very ancient language, a sister, and not a daughter of the form of speech which ultimately developed as literary Sanskrit. As compared with Sanskrit, its principal peculiarity is the hardening of soft letters. Where Sanskrit has *Dāmōdara*, *Paiśāchī* has *Tāmōtara* thus closely following the Welsh pronunciation of English in the days of Shakespeare. Sir Hugh Evans says 'putter' for 'butter' just as *Chūlikā-Paiśāchikā* 'a boy' is *pālaka*, not *bālaka*.

Professor Pischel, in his Prakrit Grammar, has maintained that this *Paiśāchī* was the language of the country between the Hindu Kush and the present frontier, in which the *Kāfir* speeches, *Khōwār*, and *Dard* are now the vernaculars. The researches of the present writer have shown that this is almost certainly the case, and that therefore this tract was the home of the ancient *Piśāchas*, a wild tribe, owing no allegiance to, and having but a distant connexion with the Aryan conquerors of India. These *Piśāchas* were not confined to the transfrontier highlands. They sent colonies down the Indus, and Sanskrit writers mention their existence in *Kēkaya*, or the western Panjab, and in *Vrāchada*, or *Sindh*. It has been seen, when dealing with the languages of these countries (*Lahndā* and *Sindhī*), that evident traces of this *Paiśāchī* influence exist at the present day. From thence they spread into what is now the *Bhīl* country, and also, perhaps, down the coast as far as *Goa*.

The ethnic relationship of the inhabitants of these transfrontier highlands, whom we now call *Dards*, has been frequently discussed.

The first to attack the question was Trumpp. He says, 'we find that the races of *Dardistān* are of Aryan origin, and speak dialects which, on nearer investigation, will be found to have gone through the same process of development (or decomposition, as it might be called), as their sister-tongues in the plains of Upper India'. In other words, Trumpp claimed that the *Dard* tongues (meaning the *Dardic* tongues generally, and not the true *Dard* languages), as a whole, belong to the Sanskritic family of Aryan languages. Whether Trumpp's conclusion is correct or not, many of his

arguments are based on wrong premises, for he continually cited, as proofs of the Indian origin of Dard words, closely corresponding words in Pashtō, which he considered to be a Sanskritic language like Pañjābī or Sindhī. As a matter of fact it is now known that Pashtō is not a Sanskritic language, but is a member of the Eastern branch of Eranian family.

Shaw, in his articles on the Pāmīr Ghalchah languages, points out the close resemblances which exist between them and the Dard speeches. At the time that he wrote, it had not yet been established that the Ghalchah languages belonged to the East Eranian stock. He says, 'it seems probable that the separation of the Dards from the Ghalchahs took place at a time when there still existed a spoken tongue neither distinctly Indian nor distinctly Persian, but containing the germs of both. If the Dardu immigration from the north had been a late one (say at the time of the Yuechi or of the Musalmān invasion), at a time when the language spoken in the plains of Bactria had become almost as strongly differentiated from that of India as at the present day, it is not easy to see how the speech of the Dards could have taken its development on Indian lines, as it has done, and *vice versa*. The fact of the tongues under notice still retaining so much mutual resemblance, together with a local connexion, would imply that they were descended directly from one and the same mother; while the fact of their belonging to the opposite families shows that we must not seek their common parentage either in the Indian or in the Persian tongue, but in an early Indo-Eranian mother-dialect, which alone would be capable of giving birth to two such children from the same womb. To put the matter in other words, it would seem that the Ghalchah and Dard nations must have lived each a life of its own, distinct from that of any other branches of the Aryan race and changing less fast than they, ever since they emerged from the oneness of the Indo-Eranian stem. They are true sisters, and yet they belong to rival families, hence they must be of that generation in which the split occurred. In any lower generation they would either not be sisters, or, if they were, they would belong to the same branch of the family.' It will be seen that Shaw also considers that the Dards belong to the Indian family of Aryan languages, and not to the Eranian. Further on he suggests that the Dard languages, though belonging to the Indian branch, are not Sanskritic. There is a linguistic gap between them and their true

Sanskritic neighbours, the languages spoken in the outer Himalayas, which, he says, may be supposed to represent a reflex wave of migration sent up from the plains of India. The gap would in that case represent the whole progress in language made between the time when the Indo-Aryans were still a mere Central Asian tribe with incipient peculiarities of speech, and that, when their great migration accomplished, they were in possession of their Sanskrit form of language. It will be seen that Shaw has, in many respects, anticipated the conclusions of the present writer.

Biddulph would divide the tribes of the Hindu Kush into three groups. The first consists of those speaking the Ghalchah languages, the second of the Khō of Chitral and the Kāfir tribes, and in the third group he would class the 'Shins, the Gaurō, Chilīs, and other broken tribes of the Indus Valley, the Bashgharik (*i.e.* Gārwi) and Tōrwālāk of the Swat and Panjkora Valleys, and the broken tribes of the Kunar Valley between Chitral and Kunar. One point which is worthy of note in regard to the languages of these three groups is, that while those spoken by the Ghalchah tribes, that is, those belonging to the first group, appear to be sprung from ancient Persian (Zend), those of the third group show greater affinity with the Sanskrit..... The Khō-wār language shows affinities with those of both groups, and will be found, I believe, to constitute an intermediate link between the two.'

Tomaschek devotes a few pages to discussing the characteristics of the Dard languages, and concludes, in spite of several coincidences in vocabulary, we should be careful not to count the Dard languages among those belonging to the Hindu Kush. The verbal flexion rests on principles similar to those which we meet in Pañjābī, Sindhī, and Kāshmīrī; and in its complicated formations, especially in the distinction between the masculine and feminine genders, offers a distinct contrast to the very sterile conjugation of the western dialects. The Shins and Dards have evidently come to their present northern abode from the south, and through Kashmir, and have never lost their connexion with Gandhāra or the Indians of the Pañjāb.'

With reference to the above remarks, it should be remembered that Trumpp, Shaw, and Tomaschek, alike, were limited as regards their information to what they could gather from Leitner's *Dardistan*, a book which at the time it was published was of great value, but which has since been superseded by the much fuller work

of Biddulph. The present Survey places further, if still incomplete, materials in the hands of experts; and it is now possible to enunciate a new theory based on more secure foundations.

All the above discussions necessarily depend on merely philological arguments. In questions of ethnology such considerations can form only a weak support, but in the present case no other materials are available. Philology, however, may be taken with more confidence as a guide (though not with entire trust) in the case of tribes whose languages are morient. When we find small tribes clinging to a dying form of speech, surrounded by dominant languages which have superseded the neighbouring tongues, and which are beginning to supersede this form of speech also, we are fairly entitled to assume that the dying language is the original tribal one, and that it gives a clue to the racial affinities of the tribes who speak it.

This is the case with the Dardic languages. They are all being gradually superseded by Pashtō and by Indo-Aryan forms of speech. That they have been preserved at all through so many centuries can only be due to the inhospitable nature of their home, and to the hostile character of their speakers. Nevertheless, in stating the result of my own researches, I merely put it forward as a hypothesis which is consistent with the state of affairs presented by philology, and not as one that is necessarily true.

The country in which the Dardic languages are vernacular has Eranian languages (especially Pashtō and Ghalchah) to its north-west, west and south-west, Indo-Aryan (*i.e.* Sanskritic) languages to its south and south-east, various forms of Tibetan to its east, and to its north-east the isolated unclassified non-Aryan Burushaskī of Hunza-Nagar. Of these, Tibetan has affected only Shinā, the most eastern of the Dard languages, and that, apparently only in modern times, by adding words and idioms as an overlayer. With Burushaskī the case is the reverse. Over the whole of Dardistān there is an underlayer of Burushaskī words, such as those for 'iron', 'ass', 'woman's hair', and so on. These words are found in localities far from the present habitat of Burushaskī, and the inference is that, before the arrival of the Pisāchas, the whole of Dardistān was once inhabited by the ancestors of the present owners of Hunza and Nagar. It is not impossible that they were identical with the 'Nagas', who, according to Kashmir Mythology, were the aboriginal inhabitants of the Happy Valley before the arrival of the Pisāchas,

and after whom every mountain spring in Kashmir is named. Be that as it may, at the bottom of all the Dardic languages, there is a small, and quite unimportant, element of Burushaskī.

Pashtō, Ghalchah, and the neighbouring Indian languages are all of Aryan stock, the first two belonging to the Eranian and the third to the Indian branch of that family. That the Dardic languages are also of Aryan stock is absolutely certain, the question is whether we are to class them as Eranian, or as Indian, or as forming a separate third branch by themselves. I believe that the last is the only classification which we are at liberty to adopt.

It would be impossible to discuss the question in detail in the present pages. It involves hundreds of minute comparisons of idioms, words, and even letters which would here be out of place. Those who are interested in the arguments must be referred to the present writer's work *The Pisāca Languages of North-Western India*. For our present purposes it must suffice to give a general summary of the results arrived at.

It is well known that there was in prehistoric times a language, known as Aryan, spoken by the common ancestors of the Eranians and of the Indo-Aryans in the oasis of Khiva. Thence they appear to have followed up the course of the Oxus and Jaxartes into the high-lying country round Khokand and Badakhshan, where a portion of them separated from the others, marching south, over the western passes of the Hindu Kush into the valley of the River Kabul, and thence into the plains of India where they settled, as the ancestors of the present Indo-Aryans. At that time the common Aryan language possessed certain definite characteristics which were brought into India by these invaders, and which have in process of time developed, on Indian lines, into the characteristics of the modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars.

The Aryans who remained behind on the north of the Hindu Kush and who did not share in the migration to the Kābul Valley spread eastwards and westwards. Those who migrated to the east occupied the Pamirs and now speak Ghalchah. Those who went westwards occupied Merv, Persia, and Balochistan, and their descendants now speak those languages which, together with the Ghalchah languages, are classed as Eranian. At the time of the parting of the ways, when some of their number took the first step in their march towards India, the Aryans, as we have seen, spoke a common language but with the Eranians this language developed

on different lines, so that at the present day the languages of the Pamirs and of Persia are very different from those of India. It will be simplest if we take the Eranian languages as the direct descendants in a straight line from the ancient Aryan stock, while the Indo-Aryan languages represent a branch which issued from the parent stem at a very early date. We might represent the state of affairs graphically as follows:

Aryan → → → → → → → → Eranian

Indo-Aryan

The Dardic languages possess many characteristics which are peculiar to themselves, while in some other respects they agree with Indo-Aryan, and in yet other respects with Eranian languages. They do not possess all the characteristics either of Indo-Aryan or of Eranian. We must assume that at the time when they issued from the Aryan language, the Indo-Aryan language had already branched forth from it, and that the Aryan language had by that time developed further on its own lines in the direction of Eranian; but that that development had not yet progressed so far as to reach *all* the typical characteristics of Eranian, and still retained some (but not all) the characteristics which it possessed when the Indo-Aryans set out for the Kābul Valley.

This may be represented graphically by the following diagram:

Aryan → → → → → → → → Eranian

Indo-Aryan

Dardic

The Indo-Aryans crossed the Hindu Kush by the western passes, and, when they entered India by the Kābul Valley route, left what is now Chitral and Gilgit (*i.e.* Dardistān) on their left. Immediately to the north of Chitral over the Hindu Kush, communicating by the Dora and one or two eastern passes, lie the Pamirs, the home of the Ghalchah languages. Now, nearly every Eranian characteristic possessed by the Dardic is shared by the Ghalchah languages, while, at the same time, these very Eranian

Ghalchah languages have a few points in which they follow the Dardic languages in agreeing with Indian as against Eranian. We are thus led to the conclusion that the ancestors of the Dardic tribes entered their present habitat by the Dora and neighbouring passes. The fact that the Dard languages proper are more nearly related to those of the Kāfir Group than either of these is related to Khō-wār, further suggests that the latter represents the language of a later body of Dardic invaders, akin to the earlier ones. Khō-wār, though undoubtedly Dardic in character, possesses more points in common with Ghalchah than the others, and separates the Kāfirs from the Dards proper by a wedge of language presenting a greater number of distinctively Eranian features.

Once settled in their mountainous habitat the language of the Dardic tribes developed on its own lines and gradually acquired those characteristics which I have said are peculiar to it and are foreign to both Indian and Eranian. No one desired their land, and except for an occasional visit from a conquering army on its way to India, such as those of Alexander the Great (B.C. 327) or Timūr (A.D. 1398) they have been left severely alone. The Sanskrit Grammarians writing at a time when, in India, the Prakrits were in flourishing existence bore record to the astonishing way in which Pāisāchī had retained forms which in Prakrit had long passed into new phonetic births, and the same is the case at the present day. The modern Dardic languages still possess, almost unaltered and in common use, words which in India are hardly found except in Vedic Sanskrit.

Notice may be drawn to the fact that eminent scholars have drawn attention to remarkable coincidences between the Dardic languages and the language of the European Gipsies. We know that the Gipsies did come from India, and there appears to be little doubt that their original Indian language was some form of Dardic.

I have said that the Pāisāchas sent out colonies down the Indus as far as Sindh. In the middle of the third century before our Era the Emperor Asōka of Pātaliputra spread his famous rock inscriptions over the length and breadth of India. These inscriptions were written in the vernacular of his time, and it need not surprise us that the one at Shāhbāzgarhī in the modern Yūsufzai country, close to, if not actually in, Dardic territory contains many linguistic forms which are related to Dardic.

Except Kāshmirī, none of the Dardic languages have any

written character, or possess any literature. Dr. Leitner has collected many songs in different Dardic languages, and has published them in his *Dardistan* and other publications.

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Separate Lists of Words and Phrases are given in the proper places for each group and sub-group of the Dardic languages. They are too numerous for all to be combined in one table, and accordingly, for the purpose of easy comparison, I here give a similar list

combining a few typical languages of each group, - viz. Bashgali, Kalāshā, and Veron, for the Kāfir Group; Shinā, Kāshmīrī, and Kōhistānī, for the Dard Group; and, lastly, Khō-wār.

G. A. Grierson: *Linguistic Survey of India*
Vol. VIII Part II

CHAPTER VII

KĀSHMĪRĪ OR KÖSHIRĪ

The Kāshmīrī language is the language of the Valley of Kashmīr. In a dialectic form it has spread south-west into the Valley of Kashtawār (Kishtwar), and to the south it has flowed over the Pīr Pantsāl Range into the lower hills lying north of the River Chināb, where it reappears in a number of mixed dialects.

The word 'Kāshmīrī' is Persian or Hindi and is derived from the Sanskrit *Kāśmīrika*. It is not the name used by the people of Kashmīr itself. There the country is called *Kashūr*^u, and the language *Köshir*^u. This word itself is an excellent example of the fact that the language belongs to the Dardic sub-family, for in India the change of *śm* to *ś* or *sh* would be impossible.

Kāshmīrī is bounded on the north by the Shinā language of the Dard group of the Dardic sub-family. On the west it is bounded by the Chibhālī and Punchī dialects of Lahndā, a language belonging to the North-Western group of the Indo-Aryan vernaculars, but strongly affected by the Dardic influence. To its south it has, on the west, the Dōgrī dialect of Pañjābī; and, to the east of Dōgrī, the Bhadrawāhī dialect of Western Pahārī. Dōgrī (see Vol. IX, Pt. i, p. 637) is a real dialect of Pañjābī, but Bhadrawāhī is a transitional form of speech between Western Pahārī and Kāshmīrī, - leaning more to the former than to the latter, - and therefore classed under the former (see Vol. IX, Part iv, pp. 888ff.). To the south-east of Kāshmīrī we find Pādārī, another Western Pahārī dialect of a character similar to that of Bhadrawāhī (Vol. IX, Part iv, pp. 903ff.). On the rest of the eastern side of Kāshmīrī, and also a little to its north-east, going northwards on the east of Shinā, lie a series of Tibeto-Burman dialects, Purik (Vol. III, Part i, pp. 42ff.), Ladakhī (pp. 51ff.), and Baltī (pp. 32ff.), all separated from the Kashmīr Valley by inhospitable ranges of mountains and in no way affecting its language.

Kāshmīrī has one true dialect, - Kashtawārī, spoken in the Valley of Kashtawār (commonly known as Kishtwar), lying to the south-east of the Valley of Kashmīr. Kāshmīrī has also overflowed the Pīr Pantsāl Range into the Jammu Province of the State, and

in the valleys between the southern hills of the range, between the water-shed and the valley of the Chināb, there are a number of mixed dialects, such as Pōgulī, Sirājī of Dōdā, and Rāmbanī. The first two of these represent Kāshmirī merging into Western Pahārī, while the third rather represents Kāshmirī merging into Dōgrī. Farther east, over the greater part of the Riasi District of the State, there are more of these mixed dialects, about which nothing certain is known, except that the mixture is rather between Kāshmirī and the Chibhālī form of Lahndā. Grammars are given below of Kashtawārī, Pōgulī, Sirājī, and Rāmbanī; but no materials are available for these Riasi dialects.

In the standard Kāshmirī of the Valley, there are minor differences of language, which, however, are not sufficient to entitle us to divide it into further separate dialects. For instance, the Kāshmirī spoken by Musalmāns differs from that spoken by Hindūs. Not only is the vocabulary of the former more filled with words borrowed from Persian, but also there are slight differences of pronunciation. Again, there is, as in all countries, the distinction between town and village talk. In villages a few old forms have been preserved that have disappeared in towns, and there are also variations of pronunciation. Finally, there is the language between the language of prose and that of poetry. As in other languages, the latter preserves many forms that have disappeared in the modern prose speech.

Returning to the dialects of the Musalmāns and of the Hindūs, it should be remarked that there are more than nine Musalmāns in the Valley to each Hindū. As already stated, the Musalmān dialect borrows freely from the Persian vocabulary. On the other hand, the Hindūs borrow from Sanskrit, but not to the same extent, and, although the speech of a minority of the population, their dialect is much purer Kāshmirī than that of their Musalmān brethren.

The figures, based on the Census of 1891, originally returned in the earlier operations of this Survey were incomplete for Kāshmirī, and I therefore give the population figures for Kāshmirī spoken in its proper home as recorded in the Census of 1911:

Standard Kāshmirī spoken in Kashmir itself	1,039,964
Kashtawārī	7,464
Pōgulī	8,158
Sirājī of Dōdā	14,732
Rāmbanī	2,174

Mixed Dialect of Riasi	20,252
Total Number of Speakers of Kāshmirī at Home	<u>1,092,744</u>
	=====

In addition to the above there were recorded 95,013 speakers of Kāshmirī in Jammu and Kashmīr, who did not reside in that part of the country of which it was the vernacular.

Kāshmirī is also spoken by emigrants from Kashmīr to other parts of India. The figures are as follows:

N.-W. Frontier Province	533
Panjab	6,480
Panjab States	710
Other Provinces	422
Total	<u>8,145</u>
	=====

The total number of speakers of Kāshmirī is therefore as follows:

At Home	1,092,744
Elsewhere in Jammu and Kashmīr State	95,013
Elsewhere in India	8,145
Total	<u>1,195,902</u>
	=====

These figures differ from the total given in the Indian census tables (1,180,632), owing to differences of classification of some of the mixed dialects.

Kāshmirī belongs to the Dard group of the Dardic languages. It is most nearly related to Shinā. It has, however, for many centuries been subject to Indian influence, and its vocabulary includes a large number of words derived from India. Its speakers hence maintain that it is of Sanskritic origin, but a close examination reveals the fact that, illustrious as was the literary history of Kashmīr, and learned as have been its Sanskrit Pandits, this claim of Sanskrit origin cannot be sustained for the vernacular of the latter. Kāshmirī is a very old language. Three words in it are quoted by Kalhana (*circ.* 1150 A.D.) in his *Rājataranginī*, and these are not very different from the language of the present day.

To the philologist Kāshmirī is a language of great importance, as it is the only example of an Aryan language in the condition of being converted from an analytic to a synthetic language. The oldest known form of Indian speech is Vedic Sanskrit. This was highly synthetic, with a system of declension of nouns and of conjugation of verbs as complicated as in Latin or Greek. In process of time this, or a kindred and similar language, developed into, say, Western Hindī, a language as analytic as English or French, in which nouns have, at most, only two cases and are declined with the aid of postpositions, while only one or two tenses of the verb have survived, the rest being made up with the help of auxiliary verbs. For instance, in Sanskrit 'a house' is *grihah*, and in Latin *mansio*, and 'of a house' is, respectively, '*grihasya*' and '*mansionis*', in both of which the change of case-meaning is indicated by a change in the form of the word. This is synthetic declension. But in Hindī 'a house' is *ghar* and in French it is *une maison*, and 'of a house' is, respectively, *ghar-kā* and *d'une maison*, in which the change of case-meaning is indicated by suffixing or prefixing a post- or pre-position. The word itself undergoes no change. This is analytic declension. Again, 'he speaks' is in Sanskrit *kathayati*, and 'to speak' was in Mediæval Latin *parabolare* (from the Latin *parabola*, a parable. 'He will speak' is respectively *kathayishyati* and *parabolabit*. Here the change of tense-meaning is indicated by a change in the form of the word, and we have an example of synthetic conjugation. But in Hindī 'he will speak' is *kahē-gā*, literally 'he is gone (*gā*) that he may speak (*kahē*, which is merely a corrupted form of the Sanskrit *kathayati*),' and in French it is *parler-a*, literally, 'he has (*a*) to speak (*parler*, which is a corrupted form of *parabolare* as if we said "*parabolare haber*"). In Hindī and French the change of tense meaning is not indicated by a change in the form of the word, but by the addition of the auxiliaries *gā* and *a* respectively. Here we have instances of analytic conjugation, as compared with the synthetic conjugations of Sanskrit and Latin.

Now Kāshmirī illustrates a further stage in the development of language. The declension of nouns is in the main analytic. There are a few survivals of the ancient synthetic cases, but in the main cases are differentiated by postpositions, as in Hindī. Thus, we have *gara*, a house, and *garuk^u* (for *gara-k^u*), of a house. But note, here, that the *k^u* has become attached to the *gara*, and is no longer

a separate word like the Hindī *kā*. *Garuk^u* is now as much one word, and a word in the genitive case, as the Sanskrit *grihasya* or the Latin *mansionis*. In other words the declension is again becoming synthetic, and the process has been first analytic (*gara-k^u*) and then again synthetic (*garuk^u*). But in other cases the declension remains analytic as in *gara-manza*, from the house, in which the noun and the postposition are still two entirely distinct words and as yet shown no signs of becoming amalgamated into one. Similarly, the conjugation of the Kāshmirī verb *may* be analytic. The word for the past participle 'said' is *dop^u*, and for the past tense, 'I said', we may have (as in the Hindī *mai-nē kahā*) *me dop^u*, literally, 'by-me said'. But we may *also* add a suffix meaning 'by-me' to *dop^u*, so that the two become one word, - thus, *dopum*, I said. Here we have a synthetic method of conjugation in optional course of formation. We may have *dopum*, I said; *doputh*, thou saidst; *dopun*, he said, and so on, which is just as synthetic as the Latin *dixi, dixisti, dixit*, with this difference, that in the case of Kāshmirī, we know exactly how these synthetic forms came into existence.

If, now, we return to India, and take languages of the Outer Circle, like Bengali or Marāthī, we find again a state of affairs similar to that of Kāshmirī, but more advanced. In Kāshmirī the synthetic conjugation is optional. We may use either the analytic *me dop^u* or the synthetic *dopum*. But Bengali or Marāthī have gone a step further. The analytic conjugation has been abandoned and only the synthetic conjugation is now employed. It is no longer optional, but is now compulsory. We have *only* the Bengali *kahilām*, and *only* the Marāthī *mhanilō*, for 'I said', from the past participles *kahilā-* and *mhanil-*, respectively. From these examples, we see the importance of Kāshmirī to the philologist. It is a language caught, so to speak, in the act of changing its nature from analytic to synthetic, and thus shows how the synthetic conjugation of Indian languages of the Outer Circle, such as Bengali and Marāthī, has arisen. Hitherto there have been many speculations on the subject, which we now see were all wide of the mark. Kāshmirī substitutes certainty for speculation. We can now watch Indian speech in its developments from birth to birth. First synthetic; then, as in Hindī, analytic; then, as in Kāshmirī, agglutinative or semi-synthetic; and then, as in Bengali and Marāthī, again synthetic; and so, as in the Indian belief as to the

fate of the soul, the chain of *samsāra*, or weary round of transmigration, goes on perpetually 'ohne Hast, aber ohne Rast'. In future ages future philologists will, if they have a language like Kāshmirī to guide them, observe the same series of changes occurring over and over again, synthetic to analytic, analytic agglutinative, and agglutinative back again to synthetic.

Kāshmirī has a small, but respectable, list of literary works, about which not much is known. So far as I am aware, the oldest author was a woman named Lallā or Lāl Dēd. She probably lived in the 14th century A.D. Hundreds of her verses are quoted all over the Valley and are in everyone's mouth, and MS. collections of them have from time to time been made under the Sanskrit title of *Lallāvākyāni*. She is said to have been a holy woman, and to have been accustomed to wander about the country in an almost nude condition, her excuse being that he only was a man who feared God, and that there were very few such men about. Her verses are all religious and are strongly tinged with Śaiva philosophy. The first poem that can be dated is the *Bānāsūravadhā*, the name of the author of which is unknown to me. It is in the Hindū dialect, and was written in the reign of Sultān Zainu'l-ābidīn (1417-1469 A.D.). Other poems of which the approximate dates are known are the following: - Dēvākara Prakāśa Bhatta was alive during the eight years of the reign of the Hindū king Sukhajivana Simha, who came to the throne in 1786 A.D. He lived in the Gōjāwār (Sanskrit, Gulikāvātikā) quarter of Śrīnagar, and wrote a history of Rāma entitled the *Rāmāvatāracharita*, with a sequel entitled the *Lavakuśacharita*. Both of these are highly poetical works in pure Kāshmirī. They are specially interesting as containing many legends not found in any Indian version of the *Rāmāyana* with which I am acquainted. Paramānanda of Mārtanda is said to have died in 1822 A.D. at the age of 68 years. He wrote a history of Krishna entitled the *Krishnāvatārālīlā*, a work which follows the Indian tradition much more closely. These three works are all excellent specimens of the Kāshmirī language, and, though in the Hindū dialect, are not too highly Sanskritized. With a much fuller Sanskrit vocabulary is a history of the circumstances connected with Śiva's marriage with Pārvatī, entitled the *Śivaparinaya*, written by Krishna Rāzdān, or Rājanaka, who was alive as an old man at the end of the last century. He lived at Vanpuh (Sanskrit, Vanapōsha in the Anantnāg Pargana, and his

poem is much admired by Kāshmīrī Pandits. It is full of Śaiva philosophy. The late Professor Bühler, in the *Report* (pp. 1ff.) referred to below in the List of Authorities, mentions the following Hindū works of which he obtained MSS. I have not seen any of them:-

Name of Author	Name of Work
Gankaprasāsta	<i>Samsāramāyāmōhajālasukhaduhkhacharita.</i>
Sāhib Kaul	<i>Krishnāvatāra.</i>
Anonymous	The Sanskrit <i>Amarakōsha</i> , with a Kāshmīrī explanation
"	<i>Janmachasita.</i>
"	<i>Nirvānadēśaslokīstava.</i>
"	<i>Rāmāvatāra</i> (perhaps the work already mentioned).
"	<i>Śivalagnavarnana.</i>

Of writers in the Musalmān style the best known is Mahmūd, or Muhammad, Gāmī, who died in the year 1855 A.D. He wrote a *Yūsuf Zulaikhā*, a *Lailā wa Majnūn*, and a *Shirīn o Khōsrau*, all on familiar Persian models. An edition of the first-named, with a partial translation, has been prepared by the late K. F. Burkhard, regarding which particulars will be found in the List of Authorities. Other works in the Musalmān dialect mentioned by Bühler, and which I have not seen, are:-

Name of Author	Name of Work
Saifu'd-din	<i>Vāmik-ujra.</i>
Suinty Pandit	<i>Nisāb.</i>
Anonymous	<i>Amsilla</i> (a poem).
"	<i>Hārūn Rashīd.</i>
"	<i>Mahmūd-i-Ghaznavī.</i>
"	<i>Shēkh Saunā.</i>

The Serampore Missionaries published a version of the New Testament in 1821. This was printed from type in the Śāradā character. Similar editions were issued at Serampore of the Pentateuch (1827) and of Joshua-Kings (1832), but the Bible was not completed. The British and Foreign Bible Society published a version of the New Testament in 1884, and of the Old Testament with a revised version of the New Testament in 1899, all in the Persian character.

In the year 1879 A.D. the late Pandit Ísvara Kaula completed an excellent grammar of Kāshmirī, in the Sanskrit language and entitled the *Kāsmīraśabdāmṛita*. This has been edited by the present writer, and was published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1898. The same author was engaged on a Kāshmirī-Sanskrit Dictionary at the date of his death in 1893. The materials collected by him for this purpose were subsequently made over to the present writer, and from them and other sources a Kāshmirī-English Dictionary is now in course of preparation.

Connected with formal literature, though not a part of it, are the subjects of folktales and proverbs. Kashmir is a land of proverbs, and common speech is profusely interlarded with them. A valuable collection of Kāshmirī proverbs has been made by the Rev. J. Hinton Knowles, particulars regarding which will be found in the List of Authorities. This should be in the hands of every student of the language. It is full of information regarding the customs and the character of the people. Kashmir is also celebrated for its folktales. Not only are some familiar in every home, but there are also professional *rāwīs*, or reciters, who make a living by telling fairy-tales worthy of the Arabian Nights. These men recite with astonishing verbal accuracy stories that have been handed down to them by their predecessors, now and then containing words that have fallen out of use, and with the meaning of which they are now unacquainted. Sir Aurel Stein has made a collection of such tales, as dictated by one of these men, which he has handed over to the present writer for translation and publication. Long after they had been recorded it was found necessary to check the texts, and Sir Aurel found the man again, and had him recite again the doubtful passages. They were given by him in exactly the same words as those recorded some sixteen years previously. An interesting illustration of the way in which they have been handed down is given by their form. Every now and then the narrative is broken by the phrase '*dapān wustād*', i.e. '(and my) master says (as follows)'. An excellent collection of Kāshmirī folktales in English has been collected by the Rev. J. Hinton Knowles, and published under the title of 'Folktales of Kashmir' (second edition, London, 1893).

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CHAPTER VIII

SOCIAL LIFE

"Hills, vales, woods, netted in a silver mist
Farms, granges, doubled up among the hills,
And cattle grazing in the watered vales,
And cottage chimneys smoking from the woods,
And cottage gardens smelling everywhere
Confused with smell of orchards."

Aurora Leigh

The Kashmiri village is beautiful in spite of itself. Shaded by the unravelled plane-tree, by walnut, apple, and apricot, watered by a clear sparkling stream, the grass banks of which are streaked with the coral red of the willow rootlets, surrounded by the tender green of the young rice plant, or the dark, handsome fields of the *Imbrzal* and other rices of the black leaf, the Kashmiri village is rich in natural beauties. Later on the patches of rice-blooms look like a tessellated pavement, with colours running from red and russet green to copper. The rice-blooms are very varied, passing from deep bronze through olive, dark, and light green to pink and Indian red, all glowing like burnished metal under strong sunlight. Out through the luxuriant foliage peeps the cultivator's cottage, with its tumble-down, thatched gable roof. Each cottage has a garden plot well stocked with vegetables. Close to the cottage is the wooden granary, an erection like a huge sentry-box, in which the grain is stored, and from which it is taken out by a hole at the bottom. In the courtyard by the cottage the women are busy pounding the rice or maize, and the cotton-spinning wheel is for the time laid aside. Dogs are sleeping and little children rolling in the sun, while their elder brothers, also children, are away looking after the milch cows and cattle. On the stream is a quaint-looking bathing-house, where the villager leisurely performs his ablutions, and below the bathing-house the ducks are greedily eating. One of the prettiest objects in the village is the graveyard, shaded by the *Celtis Australis* and bright with iris, purple, white (*guli sosan*) and yellow (*zambak*), which the

people plant over their departed relatives. The village enjoys ample room. There is no crowding of houses, and each man's cottage stands within its ring fence of earth, stones or wattling. The earth walls around the garden plots are built in a very simple and ingenious manner. The earth is thrown into a mould formed by wooden planks, and on the top of the earthen slabs thorns are laid, over which more earth is placed. The thorn covering protects the wall against the rain, and the structure will last for some years. This kind of wall is known as *Dos*.

The houses are made of unburnt bricks set in wooden frames, and of timber of cedar, pine and fir, the roofs beings pointed to throw off snow. In the loft formed by the roof wood and grass are stored, and the ends are left open to allow these to be thrown out when fire occurs. The thatch is usually straw. Rice straw is considered to be the best material, but in the vicinity of the lakes reeds are used. Near the forests the roofs are made of wooden shingles, and the houses are real log huts, the walls being formed by whole logs laid one upon another, like the cottages of the Russian peasantry. Further away from the forests the walls are of axe-cut planks fitted into grooved beams. Outside the first floor of the house is a balcony approached by a ladder, where the Kashmiri delights to sit in the summer weather. Later the balcony and the loft are festooned with ropes of dry turnips, apples, maize-cobs for seed, vegetable marrows and chilies, for winter use. Sometimes in the villages one finds the roofs of the larges houses and of the shrines (*ziarats*) made of birch bark with a layer of earth above it. This forms an excellent roof, and in the spring the housetops are covered with iris, purple, white, and yellow, with the red Turk's head and the Crown Imperial lilies. In the city nearly all the houses of well-to-do people are roofed with the birch bark and earth, so that looking down on Srinagar from the Hari-Parbat hill one sees miles of verdant roofing. In some of the larger and better houses there are pretty windows of lattice-work, open in the summer and closed by paper in the winter. As spring approaches the paper is torn down and the windows look ragged and untidy. On the ground floor the sheep and cattle are penned, and sometimes the sheep are crowded into a wooden locker known as the *dangij*, where the children sit in the winter and where the guest is made to sleep, for it is the warmest place in the house. One might imagine that the Kashmiri houses were neither comfortable

nor healthy, but as a matter of fact they are warm enough. In the summer weather the houses are airy, and as winter comes up through openings from the ground floor to the first floor where the family lives. Some houses have fireplaces, but as a rule the villagers depend for warmth in winter on their sheep. For lighting purposes they use oil, and in the higher villages *torches* made of pine wood are employed. The useful *kangar*, which forms so important a part of the Kashmiri's life, must not be left unnoticed. There is a proverb "What Laili was on Kajnun's bosom so is the *kangar* to a Kashmiri". The *kangar* is a small earthenware bowl of a quaint shape, held in a frame of wicker-work. In the winter, and even in the summer when rains chill the air, hot embers are put into the *kangar* and it is slipped under the voluminous gown which all Kashmiris wear. Small children use the *kangar* day and night, and few of the people have escaped without burn-marks caused by carelessness at night. It is said that the *kangar* is often a cause of cancer. Sometimes the frequent fires which occur in the villages and in the city have been traced to the *kangar*. The *kangar* has been stated to have been introduced from Italy, but as there is mention of it in the Raja Tarangini it seems probable that it is indigenous. Much as the people owe to it they are wont to blame the *kangar* as the cause of their want of courage, and the "goat heart" of the Kashmiri is always connected with its use. Among its other properties the *kangar* is said to aid digestion. A famous native physician was struck with the enormous meals of cold rice and singhara nut consumed by the Kashmiris, but when he saw the *kangar* he understood that the Kashmiri possessed a remedy against the evils caused by gorging. Among the most prized of the CChrar Sharif fairings is the pretty painted *kangar*. The best fuel for the *kangar* is "hak", the small drift-wood which is collected at the mouth of the hill rivers by nets. Cowdung, and other dung mixed with dried chenar leaves, is also commonly used as fuel for the *kangar*.

Some patriots go so far as to assert that the introduction of the *kangar*, and its necessary auxiliary the *gown*, was an act of statecraft on the part of the emperor Akbar, who wished to tame the brave Kashmiri of the period. But others say that the great king Zain-ul-abadin, in his effort to reduce the proud spirit of the Hindus, insisted on the use of the *kangar*, the *gown*, and *basi roti* (food cooked some hours before it is eaten).

The furniture of a Kashmiri house may be described briefly.

There is none. In the villages and city alike the people sleep on mats and straw, bedsteads being unknown. A cotton-spinning wheel, a wooden pestle and mortar for husking rice, a few earthen vessels for cooking, and earthen jars for storing grain, complete the interior of a Kashmiri house. The useful *kilta* is found in all. This is a large creel, which the Kashmiri straps on his back, and in which heavy loads are carried. The *kilta* is usually made of the withies of willow, Cotoneaster or Parrotia.

The clothes of the villagers are simple and extremely mean in appearance, and there is very little difference between the garb of a man and a woman, as they both wear the effeminate gown. Heavy and full it buttons at the neck and falls to the feet. Weight is given to the bottom of the gown by a deep hem, and sometimes this is artificially weighted, in order to exclude the air and to keep in the heat of the *kangar* when a man sits down on the ground. Underneath the gown the man wears drawers. In the winter these garments are made of wool, in the summer of cotton, either manufactured at home or imported from the Panjab. The ordinary headdress of the Kashmiri cultivator when he is at work is a cotton skullcap, but on State occasions he dons a white *pagri*. The fashionable Kashmiri likes to wear his *pagri* rather on the back of his head, and displays a large amount of forehead. The sleeves of the gown of the Musalman cultivators are wide and loose, and it is a sign of respectability to wear the *cuffs turned back*. Leather shoes are worn by the well-to-do and by most people on holidays, but the ordinary covering of the foot in Kashmir is the leather or straw sandal, known as *tsapli* and *pulahru*, and the wooden patten for wet weather. Every Kashmiri can make his own *pulahru* from a wisp of rice straw. In the villages there is a strange absence of colour in the dress of the people, and the only thing which breaks the dull monotony of the dirty grey is the coloured skullcap of the children. The total absence of colour in the dress of the villagers is, from a picturesque point of view, much to be regretted. It is a relief to visit Jammu territory and to see again the bright oriental colours of the Rajput dress. The Kashmiris are by no means enamoured of their present fashion in dress, and have often told me that if an order is given they will adopt the Kishtwar fashion. But I am afraid that so long as the *kangar* is used so long will the effeminate gown remain in fashion. Out of the material of one gown a native of India could make two good coats. The Panditanis, however, wear

dresses of dark maroon, known as *krimsi* (our *cramasie*), and blue, and fasten a girdle of white cloth around their waists. Their headdress is a kind of veil, which falls over the back of the head, and they and all Kashmiri women wear their hair in a peculiar arrangement of many plaits, in which black wool or silk is interwoven. Up to marriage these *plaits* are separate, but after marriage they are gathered together and fastened with a heavy *tassel*. Only the women of the wealthy veil themselves from the public gaze. The Kashmiris assert that their national dress is to be found in Kishtwar, and that it resembles the dress of a Kashmiri when he goes on a journey. The gown is then tucked up and bound around the waist by a cloth belt or tucked inside the drawers, and the drawers turn into manly knickerbockers, with leggings, which are simple and effective. *Bandages* of woollen cloth, the well-known puttie of the Indian army, are wound around the calf of the leg and are said to give great support on long journeys. There is great art in binding the bandage and the Kashmiri knows the art. The Kashmiri villager spends little on show. His clothes are spun, woven, and made at home, and a reason often given for the absence of smartness is that any outward show was at once interpreted by the officials to mean hidden wealth, and domiciliary visits ensued. If the character of a people is reflected in its clothes, then the Kashmiris are mean and effeminate. There are certain peculiarities in dress which distinguish the Pandit from the Musalman. The Pandit wears the *tuck* of his white turban on the right, the Musalman on the left¹. The Pandit fastens his gown on the left, the Musalman on the right. The Pandit has long, narrow sleeves, the Musalman short, full sleeves. It seems that the Musalmans were enjoined to distinguish themselves from the Hindus, for I find that Musalmans will invariably mount their ponies from the off side while the Pandits mount from the near side. And while the Pandit begins his ablutions from the left leg, the Musalman invariably begins from the right leg. Other distinguishing peculiarities may be mentioned. The Pandits wear tight drawers, headdresses of narrow white cloth, of twenty yards in length, and a smooth skullcap. They also retain a small lock of hair on their head, which is carefully guarded from the barber. Further, the Pandit uses his long narrow sleeve as a kind of glove, and

¹ In India this is exactly reversed.

though he may have put on his shoes with this glove he does not hesitate to eat food with the same sleeve. Musalmans on the contrary wear loose drawers, *pagris* of broad white cloth, never more than ten yards in length, skullcaps with raised patterns; they shave their heads entirely, and they would regard food touched by the sleeve as impure. There are many differences between the Musalmani and Panditani style of dress, and there are wide differences in their character. The Panditani wears a girdle, but no drawers. She has a white headdress, and has no embroidery except on her sleeves and around the collar. She never wears leather shoes but sticks to the old-fashioned grass sandal. She is more devoted to her husband than to her children, and will never mention her husband's name. The Musalmani wears no girdle, but if she be of good position she will never stir out of the house without drawers. She wears a red headdress and has her tunic richly embroidered. She uses leather shoes. She is more devoted to her children than to her husband, and thinks it no shame to mention her husband's name. Finally, it is commonly said that the Pandit housewife is a far better and more economical manager than the Musalmani. Both Hindu women and Musalmanis ride on ponies when the occasion arises, man-fashion.

The Kashmiri divides the day into thirty parts, and the night too has thirty divisions. He is not an early riser, and does not begin any real work before 7 a.m., though he boasts that he rises at cockcrow when the weeding of the rice-fields commences. Still, when once he has commenced work, the Kashmiri cultivator will, when working for his own gain, exert himself, and during the season of rice-cultivation he thoroughly earns his night's rest when evening falls. When winter comes on many of the able-bodied men carry down apples and other loads to the Panjab, and work as porters in Lahore and elsewhere, returning to Kashmir in the spring. Those who stay in Kashmir are busy looking after their sheep and cattle, and pass the short days and the long winter nights in weaving woollen cloth and making baskets. Often the family works up to midnight, by the poor light of the pine torch or the oil dip, and it is no exaggeration to say that the villagers rarely sleep more than four to five hours in the winter months. As will be shown in a description of agriculture the Kashmiri cultivator has not much spare time. The land holdings are large, and up to quite recent times the cultivator spent a considerable part of his days on

forced labour. Things have changed, but for some years to come the ordinary Kashmiri will have his days fully occupied. The *saferd posh* class of villagers, that is the more affluent men, who wear white clothes, do not work, but look on while others toil. They have a better kind of house and often have excellent gardens and good orchards. They sometimes indulge in the luxury of a private cemetery. They ride the small ponies of the country and travel great distances, carrying their bedding with them. They pay frequent visits to the city, and are usually connected in marriage with Srinagar families. Their lives are fairly easy, and they have considerable influence in the villages. They have not much sympathy for the ordinary cultivators, and they are always spoken of in the country side as *Darbari* men, who side with the native officials.

The Kashmiri cultivator is fond of eating, in fact is often a very gross feeder. When at work in the rice-fields a cultivator requires plenty of sustenance, the chief staples of food being rice and other grains cooked as porridge, or ground into flour and made into bread, vegetables, oil, salt and pepper, and unlimited milk. The ordinary meal of the Kashmiri indicates little of taste or culture. The boiled rice is made into balls and bolted; the sight of a villager at his food is not pleasant. But when the professional *cook* is called in some taste is displayed in the preparation and arrangement of viands, and the earthenware platters filled with brightly-coloured foods make a pretty show. The red rice in itself is bright to see. Clarified butter (*ghi*) is not much eaten, as the Kashmiri finds that it irritates his throat. Poultry (fowls, ducks and geese) is abundant, and the ordinary cultivator will eat fowls perhaps six times a month, and mutton perhaps five times a month. Whenever fish can be caught it is eaten. Hindus will not touch poultry or eggs, but they will eat fowl² and eggs of the lake birds. Not long ago the villagers rarely obtained rice for their food, as it was always taken to the city, and maize, barley, millets, and buckwheat formed their diet. The more affluent villagers are very fond of tea³ and sugar, and tea and snuff are both considered good

² A curious fact has been brought to my notice, viz. that Hindus in Kashmir insist on having any birds they eat made *Halal* in Musalman fashion.

³ Tea is said to have been introduced by Mirza Haidar from Yarkand.

for the cough which is very prevalent. The tea comes from three sources: Bombay tea from China, hill tea from Kangra in the Panjab, and green tea from China, via Lhassa and Ladakh. The Kashmiris like their tea very sweet or very salt: the former is known as *kahwa* and the latter as *shiri*, and is always mixed with milk. Both are made in the Russian samovar, which is a popular institution in Kashmir. It is the custom always to eat wheaten bread or biscuits with tea. Often spices, more especially cinnamon, are mixed with the tea. The sugar comes from the Panjab, and is either a cheap brown sugar known as *batas* or white loaf sugar known as *nabat*. Salt is an important article of diet both for men and for cattle and sheep. The Kashmiris like their food very salty. There are two kinds. The better comes from the Panjab, but salt of an inferior quality is brought from Ladakh. If rice is to be obtained a Kashmiri will not look at any other food, and the dish dearest to the people of the valley is *rice* coloured with turmeric. It must be confessed that the Kashmiri Musalman is extravagant and greedy. He bolts his food, and sometimes eats more than is good for him. It is a curious fact that very few Pandits died in the great famine of 1877-79, whereas the mortality among the Musalmans was enormous. Apart from the fact that the Pandits had great authority in the country and were better off than the Musalmans, there is the further fact that the Pandits are the more dainty feeders, and that their religion accustoms them to abstinence from food, and thus perhaps they were better able to endure hunger. In the summer the abundant fruits of Kashmir sustain a large population, and there is a wealth of vegetable food. First come the mulberries, which feed not only the people but sheep, ponies, and even dogs; then the apricot and later apples and pears. So eager are the people to get fruit that most of the apples are eaten unripe. Later still come the walnuts, but walnuts are not esteemed as a food. Cucumbers, melons, and vegetable marrows supply abundant, if not wholesome, meals to the people when the cottage granaries begin to run low, and in the winter dried vegetables and dried fruits form an important article of diet. The Kashmiris consider that all kinds of grain are either hot or cold, and are somewhat particular as to the way in which the various grains, vegetables and fruits should be mixed. Thus the dried apple, which is cold, is always boiled and eaten with the flour of the Amaranth, which is regarded as an extremely hot grain. This

wealth of fruit and vegetables and the abundance of milk must be taken into consideration when an opinion is formed as to the condition of the rural classes. There is, however, no accumulation of wealth, and a failure of the autumn crop would at once be followed by considerable distress. If one looks to the purely material condition of the villagers I should say that the Kashmiri peasant is in every respect better off than his fellows in India. He has ample food, sufficient clothing, a comfortable house, and abundance of fuel, and he obtains these without much effort. There is general comfort but not luxury, and the process of distribution of wealth, by which the country is divided into the very poor and the very rich, has not yet commenced in Kashmir. There are professional beggars who are very well off, but there are no indigent poor.

When the day's work is done the Kashmiri seeks his home and after his food retires to rest. There is no place of meeting where the sociable pipe is passed around, and the use of the pipe seems to have passed out of fashion in the great famine of 1879. Now people have taken to snuff, which is brought over from Peshawar. There is no society in the villages, and the only gatherings are at weddings or at the fairs at the shrines of the saints. The women do not gather at the well, but there is gossip at the water-mill, from which the maize and wheat-flour is brought back in skins. There are no games for the young or old, and in the village there is no leisure for games. Life is terribly earnest, and the child who can walk can work. Before the time of Maharaja Gulab Singh the different wards of Srinagar city used to turn out with slings and stones, and played a very earnest and serious game. But Gulab Singh did not approve of this fighting spirit, and put a stop to the mimic warfare. *Tipcat*, which is common all over India, is played in Srinagar, and the loser has to give the winner a ride on his back. *Hop-scotch* is also a common game, and one of the seven compartments is known as "hell". Little girls have their rag dolls, and carry them in toy palankins, playing at marriage. And now cricket has found its way to Srinagar, and will spread. At fairs are seen aged men of religion jumping about the *single-sticks*⁴, but the country-people never step into the ring; and although Kashmir was celebrated for its wrestlers I have never seen a wrestling-match.

⁴ The Kashmir Sikhs excel in single-sticks

The men are splendid walkers and their physique is frequently admirable and athletic. I have tried to get up mountain races, but the people have no game instincts in them, and only cared about the money prizes. The Kashmiri may be said to have no idea of amusements, and probably he regards a seat in a balcony or a boat as the most perfect form of amusement. He is never so happy as when, at rest under the shade of a chenar tree, he issues orders to others who are working in the sun, and cries "Shah Bash". Perhaps, however, a love of game and of sport is latent in the Kashmiri, for many of the professional *shikaris* are good, keen sportsmen, and in saying that the Kashmiris have no game instincts, the boatmen, who will paddle till they drop rather than be beaten by a rival crew, should be omitted. It is probably due to the Kashmir's inaptitude for active amusement that the strolling players, the *Band* or *Bhuggat*, have such a hold on the people. These players, who are well known in India, are enthusiastically received, and their wit and power of mimicry entitle them to a warm reception.

I have seen the best companies in Kashmir, though perhaps the best - the Bhaggats of Syebug - died off in the famine of 1877, and men now sigh: "Alas! poor Yorick", and speak of their excellent acting. The Bhaggats portray village life in a most vivid manner. Their dresses and make-up are excellent, and they represent most faithfully the internal working of a village community. It is said that Maharaja Gulab Singh acquired a very intimate knowledge of village administration from the Bhaggats' performances, and I have picked up some hints from them as to the methods of the patwari, the village accountant. The plot is very much the same. The Raja rides by, burning to redress injustice, and his Wazir seizes on the patwari and the lambardar and calls for the village accounts. The unfortunate villager who has brought his grievance to the Raja's notice is at first very loud and noisy in his complaints, but as he sees the Wazir and the patwari laying their heads together he becomes silent and sits as one fascinated. The denouement is that the Wazir finds that the patwari is innocent, and the complainant receives a severe flogging. Other scenes of village life are depicted, and one of the most favourite representations with the country-people is the sowing, plucking and spinning of cotton. I shall have some more to say about these interesting Bhaggats later on. They relieve the sadness of village life in Kashmir. The Shairs must be distinguished from the Bhaggats for they never act. They are either

minstrels who sing to the accompaniment of a guitar, or the village poets, who suddenly spring up in the midst of business and recite in a loud shrill tone the praises of the most influential person present. I knew many of these poets, and have spent many hours listening patiently to rhymes which seemed to have no end, and which jumbled up in a very curious manner oriental tropes with the most commonplace and technical terms of survey and revenue work. It is good to give these poets a few rupees, for they are often miserably poor. Many whom I met are unfortunately not quite sane, and one, a Musalman, who had formerly been the tutor to a high official, was hopelessly given to drinking, and justified his propensity by quotations from the Persian Poets. He reviled me in the strongest language when I declined to give him whiskey, and said that the "iron age" of the Hindus had indeed arrived, and left my camp in tears.

In the city there is at any rate a crowd, and there is the sacred river with its floating life. The day can be passed somehow. The citizen can saunter down to the river *ghats* and bathe, he can do a little shopping or listen to the song-birds and the minstrels, or he can work his way up to the Amiran Kadal, the first bridge, and find out the latest rumour which has been concocted by the professionals who live by fabricating news. If he lives on the river or the Snake canal he can enjoy life from his latticed window.

"Ah, such a life, such a life as one leads at the window there.

.
Bang-whang-whang goes the drum, *tootle-te-tootle* the fife,
 Oh, a day in the city square, there is no such pleasure in life."

He can also lounge down to the palace and see what is going on. All are admitted, and all can have a public audience of His Highness the Maharaja. Elsewhere I shall speak of the advantages of residing in Srinagar, but apart from the material advantages of getting food without exertion there is the further advantage of excitement and stir. The Kashmiris, like the Athenians of old, are greedy for news, and every day some new rumour is started for their edification. There are no representative institutions in Kashmir, but though the Kashmiri has no vote he can always affix his name to a monster petition got up by some official who is seeking office. A clever man of the city will affix several names to

the petition, for the art of forging signatures is studied in Srinagar. One well-known professor would in his zeal stand in cold water in order to give a shaky turn to his handwriting.

The customs and ceremonies connected with birth, marriage and death in Kashmir are of some interest, and as they have not been described before it may be of use to enumerate them at some length. It must be explained that the customs vary according to the position and wealth of families, and that there is some difference between the observances of the city people and the villagers. But the chief incidents in birth, marriage and death are the same, and in the following description I have endeavoured to ascertain and describe the practices of the average Hindu and the average Musalman. And inasmuch as the Musalman villager and the Kashmiri Pandit are the most important and numerous classes in the valley, I have set forth their customs and ceremonies and have not attempted to give the special observances of the Hanji, Watal, and other tribes. Though these tribes have their special customs, the main ideas and ceremonies are practically the same as those which are found among the villagers. If a comparison be made between the customs of the Hindus and the Musalmans, it will be seen that there are many points of resemblance, and the curious prominence of the walnut and salt, and the use of the *mendhi* dye, will be noticed. Besides the *mehnzrat* or use of the *mendhi* dye, in both religions there is the *laganchir* or fixing of the marriage day; *phirsal*, the visit paid by the bridegroom to the bride's house after marriage; *gulimiut*, the giving of money and jewels; the dress and the title of the bridegroom as *maharaja* and of the bride as *maharani*; *chudsu*, the giving of presents on the fourth day after death, and the *wehrawari* and *barkhi*, the celebration respectively of the birthday and day of death. I give the customs as they are at present, but do not venture to speculate on their origin. The vernacular words must be given in the text, instead of relegating them to the glossary, for they have no English synonyms. They are words which one hears in daily intercourse with the people, and any one who has work in the valley will find that a knowledge of these words and customs will give him a hold over the Kashmiris.

A Hindu child is ushered into the world on a bed of soft straw of the darb (or koin) grass, which has been rendered holy by perfumes and by the utterance of Sanskrit *mantras*, and when the Musalmani midwife has done her part the exact time of the birth

is carefully noted by the family astrologer. The birth-bed is known as *hurru*, and near the bed is placed an earthen vessel known as *hurlij*. Close to the vessel the floor is carefully swept, and a mystic figure is traced on it in chalk, and on this figure is placed a stone pestle which is worshipped by some girl of the house. Around the stone and on all four sides of the bed boiled and uncooked rice is daily scattered (*rit*). The mother is known as *losa*, and if this is her first child she is called *sadh piiai*. Often before the confinement a ram is brought into the room which the patient strokes three times. She then puts a handful of rice into a basket, her mother puts in a handful of flour, and her sister puts in some money. Then female relations come in, all bringing presents of figs, dates, almonds, rice and money. All these gifts are eventually given to the priest. Later the women scatter rice, flour, and money around the bed, and when the child is born, if it is a boy, the assembled relations shout and rejoice regardless of the effect of excitement on the patient. All food taken by the mother after her confinement has to be cooked on a fire worshipped by the girl and is placed in the *hurlij*, and the girl after the fire-worship anoints her forehead and the foreheads of the mother and child with *ghi*. For three days after childbirth the mother must eat but little, but on the fourth day a feast called *Panjiri*, composed of sesamum, walnuts, almonds and sugar fried in oil, is prepared and sent round to relatives and friends. On this day the mother eats some food from earthen vessels, and on the same day the mother's parents send her presents of roast meat and unleavened bread. On the ninth day after the birth (*sundar*) the mother and child are bathed in some auspicious hour and the child receives its name. On that day, too, the child is given clothes (*zafiru*), and the midwife throws away the old straw bed and makes a fresh one. After bathing, seven vessels, either of clay or of bronze, are filled with food. These vessels represent seven deities, and as some are flesh-eating deities and some vegetarian, the foods chosen have to be selected with care. Pulse, rice, walnuts and meat are the common selection, and they are worshipped. Seven women of the household must be present to represent the seven deities. After the food has been made holy, the midwife lights the torch of birch-bark and waves it around the heads of the mother and child and finally flings it into an earthen bowl filled with water. She then takes her leave, and in rich families is succeeded by a Musalman wet nurse, and the holy food is distributed among relatives and

neighbours. On this, the ninth day, the mother is allowed for the first time to eat from bronze vessels, and her parents sent gifts of roast meats, bread, and cash. On the eleventh day the bed is again thrown away and the mother, no longer unclean, sallies forth to the courtyard, and with her child on her lap sits down on the same mystic figure mentioned above, and shows the sun to the infant. But if it happens that any woman of the *gotra* up to the seventh generation gives birth to a child, or any one of the *gotra* die during the eleven days, the weary days of purification must drag on for another eleven days. If the death or birth in the *gotra* be in families dating back to the eighth generation only four days more are added to the original term of eleven days. If beyond the eighth generation, only one day is added. Provided no such untoward birth or death has happened and the house is free from uncleanness (*sutak*) the *hons* or impurity is removed. The family Brahman is then summoned, and a curious ceremony known as *kah netar* is performed. The mother has to drink the five products of the cow. The seven vessels are again filled with food, of which relatives and friends partake. Among other details connected with the *kah netar* may be mentioned the tracing of a tree in chalk upon the wall. When the Brahman priest has discharged his functions, the astrologers of the father and the mother cast the child's horoscope (*zatuku*). On the day of the child's birth the parents send presents of walnuts to their relatives, and the mother's parents send a basket of sweetmeats and turmeric and ginger to their daughter. If the mother's recovery is slow the deities have to be appeased, and the *kah netar* ceremony is repeated, and if the child wails or refuses nourishment the *sundar* rites are again performed. Sometimes on the eleventh day after birth, when the child takes its first look at the sun, a penbox is placed before the child if a boy and a stone pestle if a girl. When the child is a month old (*mas netar*) he receives new clothes, and a feast of rice and milk is given to relatives and friends. These first clothes are made by the priest's wife, and she uses not a needle but a thorn of the wild rose. The needle is made by man, the thorn by God, and there is a superstition that the child whose first clothes are made with a thorn will never handle a sword, or hurt man or beast. When he reaches the age of six months he takes his first taste of rice boiled in milk (*ann pras*), and his ears are pierced. On this day food is distributed among relatives and friends, and in some families it is the custom

to place before the child various articles, such as pen-boxes, grain, needles, etc. If the child touches the pen-box first, it is a sign that he will take to writing as a profession.

In the third year the ceremony of shaving the child's head (*zar kasa*) takes place, this being a very joyous occasion. The day before the ceremony the boy's hands and feet are coloured red with the dye of *mendhi* (*Lawsonia inermis*) or of a Lichen, and a great feast is prepared by the paternal aunt. The custom of dyeing the hands and feet with *mendhi* is known as *mehnzrat*, and is also observed on the occasions of assuming the sacred thread and of marriage. The food on this occasion is known as *wari*, and there are three kinds of *wari*. The first consists of rice, the fat of sheep or of goats, ginger, carraway seeds, salt and oil, and is known as *wari bat*. The second is made of turmeric, salt, carraway seed, assafoetida and pulse, and is known as *masaladar wari*, and the third, which is known as *wari*, consists of pulse and rice fried in oil. For her services the paternal aunt receives congratulatory gifts (*zang*) of rice, salt, and cash, and all the relatives and friends feast heartily on the *waris*. In the case of a girl there is no shaving of the head. The boy's hair is carefully buried under a tree.

When the boy has attained the age of seven years, and before he reaches his thirteenth year, he must don the sacred thread and become a true Brahman. An auspicious day is fixed by the astrologer, and five days before the date relatives are invited to the boy's house, and there is constant feasting, and the women sing and make merry. The maternal uncle presents gifts, and the day before the sacred thread is put on the rites of *deogun* are performed by the family priest. *Deogun* is a ceremony when the protection of sixty-four deities called *yognis* is invoked. Friends and relatives give the boy's father money (*awarah bal*), and sometimes considerable sums are received. On the day the boy is confirmed as a Brahman a small earthen dais is made in the courtyard on which a fire is lighted, and the boy throws almonds and pistachio nuts on to it. He is then shown a virgin and a heifer seven times, and the sacred thread of three strings (*janeo*) is placed on the boy. Later he stands on the mystic figure traced on the ground (*wegu*) while the women sing around him. Coins and shells are thrown over his head, and he is then carried in state down to the river, and performs his first *sandhia* or prayer ceremonies. Congratulations are offered, every one receives food, and the priests are given

money.

The next important event in the Hindu boy's life is his marriage. First the services of a professional match-maker (*manzim yor*), of whom there are some thirty in Srinagar, Musalman and Hindu, are called in, and when he has marked down a likely bride the astrologers are called in and the horoscopes of the boy and girl are compared. If the horoscopes are favourable, and there is no hitch, the girl's parents send to the boy's parents a little salt and sugar, with sometimes a few rupees. As a rule the boy's mother has seen the girl, and has made up her mind, and the *manzim yor*'s most lucrative work consists in bringing off matches between wealthy parvenus and old decayed families. Srinagar socially is an advanced plutocracy. A girl who has lost her mother is usually regarded as an undesirable wife. The astrologer fixes an auspicious day for the marriage, and information is sent to the bridegroom's parents of the number of guests who are to join in the marriage procession. Some days before the marriage the houses of the bride and bridegroom are swept and garnished, and the rites of *mehnzrat* and *deogun* are performed, and the bride's formal initiation into Brahmanism dates from this *deogun*. On the happy day the bridegroom, richly attired, decked with jewels, and brave with herons' plumes, sets out to the bride's house in a boat or on a horse. He is called on this day the Maharaja and the bride is the Maharani. Four Hindu attendants accompany him, three with yaks' tails and the fourth with a silver cup and shell, and a Musalman, known as the *Shahgasi*, holds an umbrella over the bridegroom's head. Decked out in the same brave fashion as the groom goes another boy, a near relative, who is known as the *Pot Maharaja* or best man, and it is said that if some untoward event should happen to the bridegroom on this day the *Pot Maharaja* would take his place. In the Pathan times it was not uncommon for the bridegroom to be seized as he went to his bride. As they approach the bride's house conches are blown, and a near relative or honoured guest of the bride's family comes down to meet the party. If the hour of marriage (*lagan*) falls in the daytime the wedding guests, after feasting, leave the bride's house, and return on the same day to escort the bride and bridegroom back to the bridegroom's house. If the hour falls in the night the party return in the morning. After the marriage ceremony, which sometimes takes place before the feast and sometimes after, the bride's father

adds three more strings to the bridegroom's sacred thread. Before the bridegroom is allowed to enter his house with his bride, he must pay money to his maternal or paternal aunt or sister (*zambhand*) who bars the door. The expenditure on marriages is very heavy, and food and fees are given to Brahmans and a host of attendants. After one or two days' sojourn in her new home the child-bride is taken back to her father's house for a day with *satrat* (brass and bronze utensils), and she shows her jewels, clothes and presents to her parents. She then goes back to her father-in-law's house, and after the marriage ceremony the girl can at any time visit her father's house, provided that his invitation to her is accompanied by the *teth* or sum of money which her father presents to his son-in-law on the marriage-day. This sum varies from 8 annas to 5 rupees, and as it has to be given by the bride's father whenever he invites his daughter to his house, and on all great holidays, anniversaries, domestic events, and birthdays, it is a severe tax on the Pandit who is blessed with daughters. As a rule cohabitation commences when the bride is about thirteen years old, and she then discards her anklets and wears a headdress known as *taranga*⁵, and the *taranga* is a sign that the marriage has been consummated. The age of marriage, however, varies, and the richer the parents the earlier the age of the bride. The gifts to the bride from her father are numerous, consisting of gold and silver jewelry and valuable stuffs. The only ones which need be mentioned are the *dij haru*, and the *chandanhar*. The *dij haru* are ear-ornaments of pure gold, of the same mystic shape as the *wegu*; these are worn by the wife while her husband lives. The *chandanhar* is a gold ornament worn round the neck, and it should be mentioned as it is always given to the bride by her father-in-law. The bridegroom receives from his father-in-law gold ear-rings and gold armlets, also the terrible *teth* to which allusion has been made above. Before concluding this account of the marriage ceremonies, it should be noted that there is an absence of symbols denoting that the marriage is one of conquest. It is a decorous ceremony, there is little or no weeping when the bride leaves her home, and no abuse of the bridegroom by the women of the bride's house.

From his marriage till his death the Hindu never again plays

⁵ The *taranga* is sometimes worn also by girls who have arrived at marriageable years.

the chief part in ceremonials. When death draws nigh a straw bed of koin grass, if obtainable, is prepared for him on a clean spot, rice and salt and money are given to the poor and the *mantras* are recited to the dying man. When he has breathed his last his body is laid on the straw bed, and a lamp is kept lighted by his head whether it be night or day. Near it is placed a tray full of sesamum with a coin. Before the body is bathed it is covered with a sheet, woollen or linen, and after the performance of the *Sradh* ceremony the dead body is wrapped in what is called *kafan*. It consists of a loose toga, cap and *srampat* (a piece of cloth about two yards long and a quarter of a yard wide) wrapped round the stomach. The body is then placed on a wooden plank, and is either borne on the shoulders of four men or carried in a boat along the goblin-haunted track (*razbar*) to the burning-ground. The funeral pyre is lighted by the son of the deceased, but the work of cremation is done by Musalmans known as *kawji*. For this they receive half of the shroud (*kafan*) and about Rs. 3 to Rs. 6. In return they have to supply wood for the funeral pyres. The other half of the shroud is burnt with a corpse. If the deceased is a woman one or two ornaments are left on the body, and these are recovered from the fire by the *kawji*. Two or three days after cremation a few bones of the corpse, which the fire has not consumed, are brought home, and are left in a hole in the wall of the house until the day of *Gang Ashtmi*, when they are taken to the holy lake under the mountain Haramukh. For ten days the house of the deceased is unclean and no one will eat food cooked in it, and for ten days, while the soul of the deceased is on its journey, rites for the dead (*kari karni*) are performed on the river bank. The son of the dead man shaves his head and beard, and when he has finished his ten days of active mourning he receives from his father-in-law a new dress, which he puts on. He then goes home accompanied by his relatives and friends. As they approach the house, the mourners draw themselves into two lines, the son enters the house and then immediately returns and passes down between the two lines. The mourners then take their leave. Meanwhile the women, who do not attend the ceremonies on the river bank, have been paying visits to the mourning family. On the eleventh day the *sharadh* service is performed every fifteenth day and thereafter monthly for the next nine months. A widow mourning for her husband, and the women of the family mourning for a relative, prolong their

mourning for a year, and for some months do not change their clothes (*phir mal*). If, however, they are bidden to a marriage they are allowed to wear clean clothes and they resume the neck thread which was put on at marriage (*athful*).

It is a sad fact that the occurrence of smallpox has become one of the accepted customs of Kashmir, and the Hindus have regular ceremonies which must be observed when the disease attacks their families. When it appears that a child is sick with the smallpox, the first thing to be done is to sew rupees into his headdress. He is then placed in a separate room, and is surrounded by clay toys of horses, elephants, palankins, fans and sugar-cakes, water-chestnuts and shells. Until the pustules are developed the child is kept on rice and curd, and no salt may be given to the child or used by the mother or wet-nurse. A little fish or a piece of meat is always hung up in the sick room (*chhai ratan*), but while the smallpox lasts no meat may be eaten and no prayers may be repeated in the house. When the disease abates the rupees are taken out of the headdress, and are spent on rice boiled in milk, which is distributed to relations and friends. The room is cleaned and the toys and a plate full of rice are flung into the river. If the smallpox is very severe, Sitla Mata, the smallpox diety, must be propitiated, and offerings of sheep, goats, horses, or donkeys, and eyes of gold or silver are made to her priests on Har-Parbat. Forty days after the smallpox first makes its appearance (*chat-jihun*), rice boiled in milk is again distributed to relations and neighbours.

These are the chief events in the life of the Kashmiri Pandit, but every day he must perform worship. When he arises in the morning he puts on wooden pattens, and with a water-jar in his hand he goes down to the sacred Jhelum, bathes and says his prayers (*sandhia*). If his father or mother is dead, he throws water in the air and utters the names of his ancestors back to seven generations. If he has an idol (*thakur*) in his house, he sprinkles it with river-water, placing flowers and rice before the image. Rich men keep Brahmans for this service. The *thakur* is a fossil from Nepal, the Narbadda, or from Shisha Nag in Kashmir. These *thakurs* are of very curious shape and often cost large sums. After this he dresses and puts the saffron mark (*tika*) on his forehead, and drinks some of the water with which the idol has been washed (*charan amrat*). He then goes to his work. Some Hindus, after bathing, make a *linga* of earth brought from the Takht-i-Suliman,

and after worshipping the Phallic emblem cast it in the river. Others go daily to the temple of Sharka Devi or Hari-Parbat, and after service to the goddess walk round the hill barefoot. Others go to the different temples in the city. It is to be noticed that only the old Pandits bathe regularly through the winter and walk barefoot round Hari-Parbat. The younger generation is more delicate or perhaps less religious. Every month the strict Hindu will keep four fasts. Meat is prohibited on these days, but water-chestnuts and potatoes can be eaten on the eleventh day of the waxing and waning moon, and on the eighth day and fifteenth day of the full moon rice and vegetables are allowed once during twenty-four hours.

There are many Hindu holy days in Kashmir, the chief of which may be mentioned briefly. It should be noted that, with the exception of State business, which is regulated by the solar months, all other transactions among Hindus in Kashmir proceed according to the lunar months. The holy days are calculated by the lunar months, whereas the worldly affairs of the Hindus are regulated by the solar months. The first day of solar Chetr is the Hindu spring day or *sont*. It is a great day with the villagers. In the early morning a basket, containing unhusked rice, curd, bread, salt, a pen-box, flowers and walnuts, is shown to every member of the family by a servant or a boy. Every one takes one or two walnuts, and after bathing the walnuts are thrown into the river. The unhusked rice is given to fishermen, who make a present of fish which is eaten in the evening of the spring day. On the fifth day of full moon in Baisakh a fair is held in honour of Rish Pir, a Hindu saint, at the Ali Kadal bridge. Rish Pir's funeral rites are performed, and every Hindu presents $14\frac{1}{2}$ annas to the saint's representatives, and receives in return some fried rice, which is taken home and distributed among relations. The new moon of Chetr is celebrated by a festival known as *naureh*, and baskets are shown to the members of the house as on the *sont* day, but the chief article of importance in the basket is the almanack of the new year. Another festival is held on the third day of the *naureh* called *Treh*. A feast is given and sons-in-law are especially invited. *Chetr Nowmi*, or the ninth day of the waxing moon of Chetr, is sacred to Doorga, and from the fifth to the ninth day no meat must be eaten. Those that worship Ragyan (Khir Bhawani) must not eat meat, some for eight, and some for five days; but those that worship

Jwala or Sharka are at liberty to eat flesh. It is the custom to sow barley in some room in the house. The barley is covered with a dome in which a lamp is left burning night and day, and the seed is watered with milk. On the day of *Chetr Nowmi* the barley is cut and worn on the headdress for a few days and then flung into the river. Offerings of flesh and rice are taken to Sharka Devi on the Hari-Parbat. *Chetr Nowmi* is the birthday of Fama, and is considered one of the luckiest days in the year. *Jeth Ashtmi*, the eighth day of the waxing moon of the month Jeth, and *Har Saptmi*, the seventh day of Har, are days dedicated to the worship of Khir Bhawani. *Har Ashtmi*, the eighth day of the waxing moon of Har, is sacred to Sharka Devi, and *Har Chaturdashi*, the fourteenth day of the waxing moon of Har, is the especial day of Jowala Mukhi, whose temple is at Krihu near Pampur. *Shrawan Dvadashi*, or the twelfth day of the waxing moon of the month Sawan, is the day on which rites are performed for children who died before they received the sacred thread, and on this day the bereaved mothers flock to a spring called Kapal Mochan at Batpura in the Shupiyon Tahsil to intercede for their lost ones. *Puran Mashi*, the full moon of the month Sawan, is the day when pilgrims must reach the distant cave of Anarnath and worship the snow *linga*, which gradually melts away after the Puran Mashi. Strict Hindus, both male and female, will discard their clothes and put on shirts of birch-bark before they enter the cave. *Janam Ashtmi*, the eighth day of the waning moon of Bhadron, is the birthday of Krishna, and a fast of three days is kept, of which one day is a complete fast. *Gang Ashtmi*, the eighth day of the waxing moon of Bhadron, is the day when Hindus take the bones (*astarak*) of their dead to the lake beneath Haramukh and perform the *sharadh* service for the departed. *Kambar Pach* is a period of fifteen days in the waning moon of the month Asuj, in which rites for the dead are performed in the houses of Hindus. *Maha Nowmi*, the ninth day of the waxing moon of Asuj, is attended with rites similar to those observed in *Chetr Nowmi*, and the next day is the Dussehra festival in honour of the conquest of Ceylon by Rama, but this festival is not observed by Kashmiri Hindus, nor is the Holi festival kept by them. *Khich Mawas* falls on the fifteenth day of the moon's waning in Poh, and is a day for the propitiation of evil spirits, who are conciliated by offerings of rice and pulse. *Bhimsan Ikadashi*, or eleventh day of the waxing moon of Magh, is observed as a fast. It is believed that

the temperature of earth changes on this date, and that the soil becomes warm. The last, and in some ways the most important, day in the Hindu calendar is the *Sheoratri*, or *Herat*, which falls on the thirteenth day of the declining moon of Magh. Offerings are made to an incarnation of Shiva, known as Bherow, and he is worshipped from sunset till midnight. At midnight the worshippers, who have fasted during the day, have a feast. Bherow is one of the Tantrik names. On the *Sheoratri*, Hindus are obliged to make their married daughters⁶ presents according to the *teth*, and on this day every Hindu plays some game, but unlike the *Diwali* festival in India there is no gambling. The women stand in rows advancing and retreating, singing the *Ru* song. On the *Id* the Musalman women sing the same song. The song is pretty and the dance graceful.

Before concluding this account of the ceremonies of the Kashmiri Hindus, it is necessary to allude to their customs of adoption and remarriage. Every Hindu can adopt a son either from his own *gotra* or from another *gotra*, and the only restriction on adoption is that the adopted son must not have been invested with the sacred thread. An adopted son cannot be disinherited, whereas a real son can be turned out by his father, and if a child is born after adoption, the adopted son is treated as the eldest son. Polygamy is practically unknown⁷, but Hindus may remarry⁸ and they often do take second wives on the death of their first. Remarriage is, however, regarded as a luxury, and many Pandits have assured me that it is not looked upon with favour in Kashmir. The child-widow, of perhaps seven years of age, can in no case

⁶ Daughters also receive presents on the Naureh, Harsatam, Vathtrwah, Janam Ashtmi, Khich Mawas, Shashar Sankrat, Navisal.

⁷ I am speaking of the Hindus as a body. Many Hindus whom I have known remarried, and some have more than one wife. It is a satisfactory point to notice that where there is more than one wife the greatest tenderness is shown by the elder wife to the younger.

⁸ A man will take more than one wife only when he has lost all hopes of having a child from the first wife, and even then the second marriage is performed with the sanction of his first wife. This is generally disliked and may be considered very rare.

make a second marriage, but she has the privilege of adopting a son, and it may be said that in a large percentage of adoptions the adopted son is taken from the wife's *gotra*. The widow lives, for the most part, in her deceased husband's family, but she is free to come and go between her father's and father-in-law's houses. The miseries caused by this unnatural system of child-widowhood, can be better imagined than described, and one of the saddest incidents of the cholera of 1892 is the number of girls who were left widows.

The Musalmans, if possible, marry their daughters to some near relation, and if this is not possible, they ask some man of their own tribe, who has more sons than money, for a boy whom they take into their house (*khana damad*). The Kashmiri peasants have lately lowered the age at which their daughters are married, and it is not uncommon for a girl to be married at the age of seven. When a man's daughter is three years old, and he cannot arrange for her marriage with a near relative he will take a boy into his house (*khana damad*), and this boy, until he marries the daughter of the house, has to work like a drudge. The system of *khana damadi* is said to have become common in Sikh times, and if forced labour was wanted for transport the unfortunate *khana damad* was always sent. If he came back alive he won his bride. If he died it did not matter as the sone of the house, at any rate, escaped. At present the custom of *khana damadi* is very popular. It has two advantages. In the first place, the father of the girl receives a drudge who works like a slave for seven years, and in the second place, the expenses on betrothal and marriage are very small. Some men are very unscrupulous in the matter of *khana damadi*, and turn boys out of their house on some small pretext and give their daughter to a stranger, but as a rule, the boy who has worked out his term of probation gets his bride. There is apparently no legal obligation, either on the part of the father or the *khana damad*, and the connexion can be broken at the will of either party. But there is a moral obligation on the part of the boy to work, and on the part of the father to give his daughter in marriage to the boy. It frequently happens that when a boy is taken into the house a deed of gift is executed, and in this case, if the boy leaves the house, the property covered by the deed of gift remains with the boy. Probably, if the boy brought an action to recover his bride he would succeed, but he would not be able to obtain any property with her unless there

was a deed of gift.⁹ One of the reasons given for the popularity of *khana damadi* is that it enables a man to keep his daughter at home, and on the whole the system works well, and there are not many quarrels between the father and the *khana damad*. It is noticeable that the Musalman father is very much attached to his daughter. Old men complain that the rising generation is becoming very independent, and that the *khana damad* is inclined to leave his father-in-law's house soon after the marriage. The *khana damad* adopts the Kram¹⁰ name of his father-in-law.

If a marriage with a near relative cannot be arranged, the father of a son who has reached the years of puberty calls in the services of a go-between (*dral*, *mianji*, or *manzim yor*). This go-between is usually a man of great powers of persuasion, and he visits families with marriageable daughters, and tells highly-coloured stories of the magnificence and generosity of his client. He then suggests marriage and takes his leave. The girl is kept at home from that date, and is not allowed to play about in the village. A few days after, on one pretext or another, the fathers of the girl and the boy arrange an informal meeting, and settle a day for the betrothals (*nishan*). Shortly after, the boy's father goes with a small party of relatives and friends with presents (*bog*) to the girl's house, and the party is entertained by the girl's father. The presents, as a rule, consist of silver bracelets, cash, salt and sugar. After the feast, the betrothals are announced in the presence of the party, and a priest asks a blessing, and if there is no doubt about the faith of the contracting parties, he reduces the marriage contract to writing. If there is doubt, the contract is for the present merely oral. The party stay the night, and next morning the boy's father receives a blanket or a turban from the girl's father, and taking back half of the cash, sugar and salt sets off to his home. Afterwards, on the four chief Musalman holidays, viz. *Id Ramzan*, *Id Kurban*, *Mihraj Sharif* and *Urs Nabi*, the boy's father sends presents to the girl. Then for six months visits follow, and at the

⁹ In Gurais and Tilail, which now form part of Kashmir proper, the value of a wife is Rs. 100 and a pony. If a man is not rich enough to buy a bride he leaves his home and serves his future father-in-law twelve years. After twelve years' service he can claim his wife, but nothing more.

¹⁰ Kram, family appellation.

end of this period the marriage day is fixed, and Rs. 20 to Rs. 50 are given as *Lagan chir* by the boy's father to the girl's father. Preliminaries are arranged, and invitations (*dapani*) are issued to relations and friends. For a week before the marriage, the bride sits indoors with her hair down (*malas behn*), and at both her house and the boy's house singing and drumming go on day and night. The day before the marriage, the boy's father sends a quantity of *mendhi* dye to the bride's house, and she stains her hands and feet with the red colour. On the marriage day the bridegroom, after a bath, dresses himself up like a Maharaja, and decks himself out with all the jewelry he can borrow from friends. His relatives give him presents of money, and then he and his party set off, riding or walking. First they visit some neighbouring shrine and say their prayers, then do reverence to the graves of the bridegroom's father or grandfather, and after that they make for the bride's house, sending on ahead the presents and the palanquin in which the bride will return. As they draw near the bride's house the women of the bride's party come out, singing the song of welcome (*wani wani*) and praising the bridegroom's beauty, and when they come to the door the village barber pours out a jar of water. Into the empty jar the bridegroom's representative tosses a rupee. This custom is known as *abdul*, and is repeated when the bridegroom takes his bride back to his father's house. When the whole party are assembled the gorgeous groom sits on cushions and the feast commences, winding up with tea; when the guests can eat no more the Kazi proceeds to business, and if the marriage contract was not written before he writes it out, receiving a fee for his pains. Before this is done, however, the two fathers of the contracting parties commence a quarrel as to the amount of *mehr* or dower which should be fixed. *Mehr* is practically never claimed by the wife in Kashmir except in case of divorce. The quarrel is maintained with great spirit, but every one present knows that it is a mere form and that the amount of *mehr* will be settled according to custom. Then the headman of the village gets up and claims his dues, and the bride's father quarrels with him, and finally all the village officers, bearers and servants crowd in and demand their fees. Meanwhile the bride and her friends are examining the wedding presents, and when all is ready the bride, with her hair done up and in the best dress she has in her trousseau, is carried by her brother or maternal uncle to her palanquin. Inside the palanquin a sheep's heart and

salt are placed, and the bride, followed by a crowd of singing women, departs with her husband. The bride's brother goes with her, and a female relative also accompanies the young girl (*dudh maj*) and instructs her in the formalities which have to be observed. As the party passes through a village all the women come out and insist on seeing the bride. When the bridegroom's house is reached the bride is lifted out of her palanquin and carried into a chamber set apart for her. She sits there with downcast head until her mother-in-law comes and raises her face. As the mother-in-law does this she abstracts from the bride's handkerchief some money which is her perquisite (*hash kant*). Then all the women of the bridegroom's family kiss the bride's hand and place rupees in it. A big feast is given on the marriage night (*tehl*) and the next day the guests depart. The bride remains seven days in her husband's house. Then discarding her bridal dress, she puts on clothes given by her father-in-law (*tehl jor*) and sets off to her father's house. Sometimes her husband accompanies her, but he may not visit her again until he is invited by his father-in-law. The houses of the bride's father and the bridegroom's father are respectively known by the name of *huhur* and *Malun*. Three months, six months or a year after the bride's return to her father's house, the bridegroom and his friends are again bidden to the bride's house and a great feast is given. The bridegroom remains three days, and when he departs his father-in-law gives him a present of clothes. Thereafter, there is no restriction on the intercourse between bride and bridegroom. Cohabitation sometimes commences when the bride is nine years of age, but, as a rule, it may be said that the girl has intercourse with her husband at the age of twelve, and that she is a mother by fourteen.

After two years from the last stage in the marriage ceremonies the young wife hopes for children, and if they are not forthcoming she goes to religious man for a charm (*tawis*) or visits a shrine, where she ties up a votive rag (*dush*) on the wall. Two months before her confinement she goes back to her father's house, and when the day arrives, if there be need, a wise woman (*warin*) is called in, and one of the family goes to the religious man for a charm. When the child is born the priest comes in, and taking the infant by the right ear, he whispers the *Azan*, welcoming the new arrival to this world of faith, and then he repeats in the left ear the *Takbir*, and adds as a warning that death is the end of all things.

The young mother fasts for one or two days, and then has a meal of wheaten bread and eggs. The grass bed on which she lies is known as *hur* and is changed daily. On the seventh day, which is known as the *sundar* day, the mother bathes and the child is given its name. The name is given by the *Pir* of the family. He usually gives some name suggested by the month in which the child is born. Thus a boy born in the months of Ramazan, Shahban or Rajab will most likely be called Ramazan, Shahban or Rajab. A boy born in the month in which a great saint died is often named after the saint. Thus Sultan is probably the name of a boy who was born in the month in which the great saint Makhdum Sahib died. The Kram name is of course added to the birth name, eg., Ramazan Rahtor, Shahban Bat, Rajab Mir, Sultan Lon. Girls are never known by their Kram name. Among the more common names of girls may be mentioned Fazli, Mali, Mihri, Janu, Daulati, Rahmi, Kali, Pritse, Sundri, Zuni (the moon maiden), Mukhti, Farzi, Ashumi. The richer people favour names like Taju, Sitaru, Begam and Ashu. The Shias will never call their sons Sultan, Sadik or Umr. On this seventh day the barber is called in and shaves the child's head, and a great feast is given. Two or three months later the mother returns to her father-in-law's house, carrying with her presents, among which will be a cow with a calf or a pony mare with a foal.

At the age of four or five the child will be circumcised, and this is an occasion of great rejoicing. Friends are invited, and the child's feet and hands are stained with the red *mendhi* dye, and he is decked out in brave apparel. For seven days before the ceremony there is nothing but singing and feasting, and on the day of the circumcision (*khuma*) the child is placed on a basket under which a cock¹¹ is cooped, the perquisite of the barber who performs the circumcision. All friends and relatives kiss the child's hand and give him money (*guli-miyut*), after which the guests go off to a shrine with the boy and return to the house for a feast.

When a Musalman approaches his end he is laid with his head towards the north or the east, and he is given as his last drink a *sharbat* made of honey. Those around call on the name of God, and break into weeping when he breathes his last. The corpse is then bathed and wrapped in a cotton cloth and placed in a wooden

¹¹ In Russia the peasants believe that there is healing power in the hen-coop.

box (*tabut*), which is always in readiness at the mosque. The body is taken to the graveyard (*mazar*), and relatives and friends repeat the funeral service. Over the wooden box is flung a cotton pall, which is the prerequisite of the gravedigger and the priest. The corpse is removed from the box and is buried in the cotton cloth. On the day of the funeral, and for three days after, the guests and priest are feasted by some relative of the deceased, as no food is eaten from the deceased's house. On the fourth day (*chaudas*) a big feast is given there, and on the Friday following the death all go to the graveyard, and some relative flings over the shoulder of the dead man's heir a coloured cloth. For forty days prayers are offered up for the deceased, and food is given to the priest and to the poor. For one year presents must be given every month to the priest, and hereafter on the anniversary of a man's death the priest receives a gift. The graveyard is planted over with many irises, narcissi, and other spring flowers, and some special trees, as the *Celtis*, all of which are sacred. In the spring the graveyards are gardens of lovely flowers.

There are many customs in the valley which would be of interest to the student of folk-lore, but space can only be found for two. These are similar in some ways to English customs. The first is the *Ankut*, or harvest-home festival, which takes place on the second day of the Diwali, when the city people are fed at the expense of the State on the first fruits of the autumn harvest. This custom was introduced by Maharaja Gulab Singh, and has been kept up by his successors. Huge feasts of rice and other autumn cereals are prepared at six appointed places - for the best class Pandits, the common Pandits, the better class Musalmans, the common Musalmans, the Shias and the Dogras. The Dogra feast takes place in the Basant Bagh, to which the idol of the royal temple is carried in the morning. No flesh of any kind is eaten at the *Ankut*. The feasts for the better class Pandits and Musalmans are very prettily arranged. The guests sit down to their white rice and other dainties, salt and sweet. For the common herd there are platters of red rice with a portion of vegetables; but their feast is a scramble, and the hungry scavengers rush in and sweep up broken platters, dust and rice. The other custom is somewhat like our April Fool's Day. When the first snow falls every one tries to hand to his neighbour a piece of snow concealed in some clever manner. If he succeeds in deceiving his neighbour he can demand a forfeit.

In trying to give an idea of the character and disposition of the people a distinction should be drawn between the villagers and the people of the city, the *shar-bash*. There are certain characteristics which are common to all Kashmiris, whether Hindu or Musalman, villager or *shahr-bash*; but in some respects a marked difference exists between the several classes. It must be borne in mind that for a long time it has been the policy of the State to subordinate the interests of the cultivators to the welfare and ease of the city people, and allowances must be made for failings and faults in the character of the villagers which cannot be made for the pampered citizens of Srinagar. In my chapter on administration the relations of the city to the villages will be described at some length, but in order to make clear some of the remarks in this chapter I must allude briefly to the position held by the cultivators in the system of government in Kashmir. My predecessor, Mr. Wingate, in his preliminary report of settlement operations in Kashmir, writes in August, 1888:

The revenue system is such that, whether the Kashmiri cultivator works much or little, he is left with barely enough to get along on till next harvest. He is a machine to produce *shali*¹² for a very large and mostly idle city population. The secret of the cheap *shali* is because if the price were allowed to rise to its proper level the whole body of Pandits would compel the palace to yield to their demands.

The Muhammadan cultivator is compelled to grow *shali*, and in many years to part with it below its proper market rate, that the city may be content. If the harvest is too little for both, the city must be supplied, and is supplied, with any force that may be necessary, and the cultivator and his children must go without. That is the explanation of the angry discontent that filled the valley during the famine. The cultivator is considered to have rights neither to his land nor to his crops. The Pandits and the city population have a right to be well fed whether there is a famine or not at two Chilki rupees¹³ per kharwar.

It is unnecessary to dwell at length on the old system, but I can

¹² Shali means unhusked rice.

¹³ The Chilki rupee, known also in Kashmir as the Nawi and Pakka rupee, is equivalent to ten annas imperial.

say that at the commencement of my work in Kashmir in 1889, the cultivators took no interest in their land, and had no belief in the land revenue settlement nor confidence nor hope in anything. It is not reasonable to look for virtues among an oppressed people, nor is it fair to descant on their vices. When one has been for some years living in the villages and seeing the Kashmiris as they are, one cannot help feeling for their lot and being a little blind to their faults. I have tried to make the best and not the worst of them, and it is possible that in the following remarks on the character and disposition of the Kashmiri cultivators I may not be expressing the views usually held on the subject. I can only urge that my work has given me opportunities, which no Europeans have previously enjoyed, of becoming acquainted with the people of the villages; but, in order to guard against special pleading, I shall conceal none of the faults of the Kashmiri, nor shall I keep back the views held by intelligent natives of the country or natives of the Panjab. I would add, however, that many of the opinions regarding the Kashmiris are based on observations of the Srinagar people and the boatmen, and that the principle *ex uno disce omnes* is often at the bottom of the wholesale condemnation of the people of the valley.

The Kashmiri bears an evil reputation in the Panjab, and indeed throughout Asia. Proverbs liken him to a snake in his morals and to a fowl in his manners, and men are warned against admitting a Kashmiri to their friendship. Moorcroft writes of the Kashmiri, "Selfish, superstitious, ignorant, supple, intriguing, dishonest and false, he has great ingenuity as a mechanic and a decided genius for manufactures and commerce; but his transactions are always conducted in a fraudulent spirit, equalled only by the effrontery with which he faces detection"; and Drew admits that they are "false-tongued, ready with a lie, and given to various forms of deceit". Hugel has nothing good to say of the Kashmiris, and it is a matter of history that in the mutiny the Kashmiris of Ludhiana turned against the English, and in the Settlement Report of the Kangra district the Kashmiris of Nurpur were spoken of unfavourably by Mr. Barnes. But it must be remembered that Moorcroft was speaking of the city people, and that the Kashmiris of Ludhiana and Kangra were the shawl-weavers, who are the lowest and meanest of the population, and it would not be fair to apply Moorcroft's epithets to the villagers as a body. He admits, too, that the vices of the Kashmiris are not

innate, but are due to the government under which they lived. "The natives of Kashmir have always been considered as amongst the most lively and ingenious people of Asia, and deservedly so. With a liberal and wise government they might assume an equally high scale as a moral and intellectual people, but at present a more degraded race does not exist." ... "The vices of the Kashmiri I cannot help considering, however, as the effects of his political condition rather than his nature, and conceive that it would not be difficult to transform him into a very different being." Knight (*Where Three Empires Meet*, p. 111) says, "Whenever they saw a Kashmiri they would run up to him barking, whereupon in almost every instance that fine-looking, athletic, bearded disgrace to the human race would behave as a five-year-old English child would be ashamed to do, howling, weeping, and throwing himself down in the snow in deadly fear." It is fair to add that even Indians show signs of fear when barked at by an English terrier. Perhaps the criticism which gives the true keynote to the national character is that of Victor Jacquemont, who wrote as follows in 1833: "The Afghans having during the last century despoiled the Mughals of their conquest, and the Sikhs having expelled the Afghans in this century, a general pillage has ensued upon each conquest; and in the intervals of peace anarchy and oppression have done their utmost against labour and industry, so that the country is now completely ruined, and the poor Kashmiris appear to have thrown the handle after the hatchet, and to have become the most indolent of mankind. If one must fast, better do so with folded arms than bending beneath the weight of toil. In Kashmir there is hardly any better chance of a meal for the man who works, weaves, or plies the oar, than for him who in despair slumbers all day beneath the shade of the plane-tree."

The theory held by the Kashmiris themselves is that they were once an honourable, brave people, and that they were reduced to their present abject state by continued foreign oppression. But some who have made a special study of the Raja Tarangini inform me that, long before the days of foreign conquest and oppression, the Kashmiris were noted for their cunning and dishonesty. It is useless, therefore, to speculate on what the Kashmiris once were. But when one reflects on what they now are one cannot help the thought that many races, had they lived through generations of oppression, like the Kashmiris, might have been more cunning and

more dishonest. In a country where there was practically no justice, the only weapon in the hands of the weak was lying and subterfuge, and I must admit at once that the Kashmiris, in their dealings with officials, do not strictly adhere to the truth. They generally open a conversation by assuring one that they never tell untruths, and, indeed, cannot tell a lie. When detected they do not feel ashamed, and in the the matter of speaking the truth they seem absolutely without any moral sense. Owing to the peculiar system of government, which encouraged a most elaborate scheme of espionage, the Kashmiris doubt and hate one another, and old men, when seeking causes for the present condition of Kashmir, attribute all its misery to two leading features of the national character - lying and *envy* or *malice*. A Kashmiri cannot bear to see any one getting on in life, and the elevation of a villager to office is by no means a popular measure in the country-side. The Kashmiri sticks at nothing, and has a great belief in the efficacy of a registered letter to the Darbar, in which he charges his rivals or enemies with a most detailed list of offences chiefly untrue. He is very timid, and conducts himself in the most abject manner towards officials. I have often heard Kashmiris praise an official in his presence, and **that** very night the same men would come to my tent and revile the official, and bring the gravest charges against him. It is impossible to believe the Kashmiri when he is dealing with the officials of the country, or when he is presenting a petition in the city, but in his own village and in the presence of his fellow-villagers I have found it fairly easy to elicit the truth. It has been the custom for a Kashmiri to always overstate his case. He prepares his statement by heart, and directly he gets an opportunity he pours out a volley of words at the top of his voice. It is evident that in past times it was extremely difficult to obtain access to officials, and that it was necessary to attract the notice of the authorities by queer devices. A Kashmiri who wishes to show that he has been beaten by the officials or his neighbour will always produce a lock of hair, which he has carefully packed up in paper and stored away in his pocket. This is usually horsehair. To indicate his sad condition the Kashmiri will smear himself with the grey mud of the rice-fields, or will cover his naked body with dust. He frequently appears with a rope of rice straw around his neck, with a brick pendant. The brick signifies that he has been reduced to the condition of a clod; the rice-straw necklace means that his life has been practically

destroyed. Men have frequently come out to meet me with their wives and children, flinging down their ploughs to indicate that husbandry has no further charms for them. In the sowing season scarcely a day passes without a petitioner appearing with sprouting grain or dried-up seedlings, to show that he cannot get water for irrigation. A common demonstration is a procession of two men and one woman. One man wears a shirt of matting, one carries a pan of embers on his head, and the woman bears a number of broken earthen pots. Sometimes the methods of venting a grievance are more elaborate. A man once came to me, carrying the corpse of an infant, and alleging that his enemies would not allow him even burying space. He had a land suit in his village, and this was his method of accentuating his grievance. Once a man came to me at Nagmarg, absolutely nude, and said his uncle had turned him naked into the world. It was very cold, so I gave him a suit of old clothes, and, by way of jest, told him that as he was now dressed like an Englishman he should assert his rights. He went home, and the uncle appeared next day bearing the marks of a severe castigation.

The Kashmiri is very loud and voluble. He is also very persistent. A Pandit, whose petition had been three times rejected, appeared a fourth time, and I told him that if he presented another petition I should have to report him to the local official. The next day the Pandit appeared with a paper in his hand; he was at once ordered to be removed, but explained that it was not a petition but a poem which he wished to present. The poem recited his grievances. Though loud in urging his worldly claims, the Kashmiri is extremely quiet under visitation, such as earthquake and cholera. Trustworthy eye-witnesses state that the Kashmiris sat silent in the earthquakes of 1885. And in the great cholera of 1892 I was in a badly-stricken part, and was much struck with the intense silence which prevailed in the villages. There was no wailing for the dead, and the people seemed to pass the day sitting quiet in the village graveyard. They wholly declined to attend me at my village inspections, and said that, as life was so uncertain, it seemed almost wicked to concern themselves with things of this world. In Srinagar there was the same absence of wailing or complaint, and a story was commonly told which accounted for this. A Panditani lost a son and mourned loudly. A spirit appeared and taunted her with wailing for one son, adding that before night-time she should have

real reason to mourn. Before night came she had lost her husband and her other two sons. No one wailed after this.

In intellect the Kashmiris are perhaps the superior of the natives of India. They are very quick in argument, and they never abandon a case unless they are convinced that it is hopeless, and they always insist on knowing the grounds for the decision. Much of the quickness and readiness of wit in a Kashmiri may be attributed to the fact that he has usually travelled; though a native friend, a Kashmiri Pandit, whose family has been settled in India for some generations, says that the wit of the people is attributable to the climate. He writes, "The Kashmiris that have settled down in the plains of the Panjab and other parts of India for a century or more have lost a great deal of this character, and as time passes on they will be just like all other natives of the plains." Up to quite recent times the Kashmiri would quit his village on the slightest provocation, and would take up his abode in the easy city, or would seek a livelihood in the Panjab. Many have been as far as Calcutta and Bombay, and all are acquainted with legends of London and its power. Though London is frequently mentioned by the Kashmiris, I have found on inquiry that they have the vaguest ideas as to its locality. The usual answer is that London lies beyond Sukkur Bukkur on the Indus, which represents the *Ultima Thule* of rural Kashmiri thought. The commonest Kashmiri can talk intelligently on most subjects, and they have a great aptitude for sarcasm. The valley is so small that news of the palace and its doings quickly spreads, and the administration and its officials are discussed in a very critical and often very shrewd manner. They believe that every man has his price, but are quick to recognize ability in their rulers. Every Governor of Kashmir has his nickname, and it is a curious fact that the strong Governors who were hard to the people, have been given the most complimentary nicknames. Wazir Punnu, who did more work in Kashmir than any Governor, and who was hated in his time for his sternness, is known as "the just". Yet it was of Wazir Punnu that the proverb says -

"Wazir tsalih, Kashmir bali."

When the Wazir goes, Kashmir will prosper.

The Kashmiri can turn his hand to anything. He is an excellent cultivator when he is working for himself. He is a good gardener,

and has a considerable knowledge of horticulture. He can weave excellent woollen cloth, and can make first-rate baskets. He can build himself a house, can make his own sandals, and makes his own ropes. There is scarcely a thing which he cannot do, and as there are no middlemen like the Banyas of India, the Kashmiri is his own man of business. He understands profit and loss, and does not often make a bad bargain. He is, of course, like all orientals, conservative, and does not accept very readily crude suggestions regarding reforms in agriculture. I have at last induced them to cut down thistles, though the conservative party urged that the young thistles were an extremely pleasant vegetable in the spring. The Kashmiri can quote in support of his system of agriculture, and indeed in support of every act of his everyday life, some rhyming proverb, and he is essentially a man of routine. Everything in their lives, ploughing, sowing, sheep-shearing, etc., has its proper time, and the time is determined by the day on which the sun enters Aries and spring commences (the Nauroz) and the day on which the sun enters Libra (the Mezan) and autumn begins.

In his home life the Kashmiri cultivator is at his best. He is kind to his wife and children, and one rarely hears of divorce scandals or immorality among the villagers. A woman who has behaved badly is a marked character in the country, and public opinion is always against her. The husband sometimes chastises his wife, and the men talk somewhat boastfully of the necessity for maintaining discipline in their houses. But as a matter of fact the wife, both in Musalman and Hindu houses, is all-powerful, and I believe that, as a rule, the Kashmiri lives in awe of his consort. The Kashmiri wife is a real helpmate, and joint work and joint interest give rise to a camaraderie between man and wife which is very healthy. I have often come across a woman in some deserted spot singing a wailing song for a husband dead long since. The cultivators look down upon the boatmen, and will not intermarry with them, as they consider them lax in the matter of morality. But, though kind to his own family, the Kashmiri is not always hospitable to his neighbours, and though generous enough to strangers, I have known many instances where he showed a lamentable want of charity. This arises in a great measure from the fact that there is no unity among the Musalmans. Each man's house is a separate unit, and there have been no forces at work to bring these units together. The village is in no way a community,

and if joint action is required to make a bridge or to repair the dams on the river, the villagers at once ask for the assistance of an official, who can compel all the villagers to co-operate. It is a curious and melancholy state of things, but the reasons are not far to seek, and will be explained in the chapter on Administration. Briefly, the Kashmiri cultivators have hitherto been treated as serfs, and have literally been forced to cultivate. They had no interest in their land, and were liable at any moment to be called away to work for officials or men of influence. They became absolutely hopeless and sullen, and each man played for his own hand. If they had combined their condition might have been happier. This sullen temper is one of the worst points in the Kashmiri character, and, joined to deep-rooted apathy, makes it very difficult to improve the condition of the people. It is said, and with some truth, that, even if bidden to a feast, the Kashmiri will not go unless he is forced; and when urgent work is necessary to prevent some disaster to the crops, the villagers themselves say, "We do not want pay, but we want the slipper", this being their phrase for compulsion. Crime is almost unknown in the villages. Property is absolutely safe, and I have never heard of such a thing as the theft of crops. Offences against the person are extremely rare, and when Kashmiris quarrel they call one another by bad names, and will occasionally go so far as to knock off a turban or seize an adversary by his effeminate gown. The sight of blood is abhorrent to them. But on occasions the Kashmiri will fight, and when the Sunnis and Shiahhs fall out the dormant brute spirit of the Kashmiri wakes up. This absence of crime is due to the stern measures of repression taken by the rulers of Kashmir, more especially by Maharaja Gulab Singh. The flaying alive of thieves has had its effect as a deterrent, and at the present time the other reasons for the strange absence of crime. The duties of the village headman and the village watchman are very real, and they receive small mercy if they fail to report crime or to detect criminals; and further the old system of informers has made criminal pursuits unpopular and unprofitable. It may be truly said that the Kashmiri is afraid to commit crime.

The Kashmiris, like other artistic people, are very fond of exaggeration. This is, of course, very noticeable in their suits for land, and in their dealings with officials. But in their private life, also they like to exaggerate things. Everything which is unusual - wet weather, heavy snow, or very hot days - is spoken of by them

as tyranny. They have three forms of address in conversation. In addressing a superior they call him *haz*, or saint. An equal is addressed as *sa*, a corruption of *sahib*, and an inferior is called *ba*, or brother. There are, similarly, three forms of address in speaking to women. Every Sikh is at once given brevet rank as "Sirdar Sahib", while a Panjabi Musalman is at once elevated to the distinction of "Khan Bahadur". A faint reflection of the splendours of the old Mughal courts seems to survive in the valley, and one notices a formal politeness among the muddy-vestured peasants which has a tinge of burlesque about it.

In many respects the Kashmiri cultivator resembles the Irishman as described by Lever. He certainly possesses the quick wit which is so characteristic of the Irish, and has a deep-rooted objection to paying rent. There are many points of resemblance between Ireland and Kashmir. Both are small countries which have suffered or derived benefit from the rule and protection of more powerful nations, yet have never welcomed any change or improvement. Both Kashmiris and Irish love a joke, are fond of harmless deception, and are master of good-humoured blarney. Both are kind to their children and the old folk. Both have the same disregard for the first principles of sanitation, though the interior of a Kashmiri hut is probably cleaner than that of a similar class of dwelling in Ireland. One day, while hearing petitions, I noticed an elderly Hindu villager standing on his head. He remained in that position for nearly half an hour before I asked him his business. He then explained that his affairs were in so confused a state that he did not know whether he was standing on his head or his heels. The boatmen are very ready in repartee. I asked some boatmen when they intended to take to agriculture. One old man at once replied, "We shall take to agriculture when the river Jhelum dries up". The boatmen, when questioned as to their origin, always say that they are descended from Noah. One characteristic of the Kashmiris, Musalman and Hindu alike, is their conceit. One would not have expected that a down-trodden people would have much conceit left in them, but as a matter of fact the meanest Kashmiri always thinks that his way of doing things is the best. At first this conceit is amusing; but it sometimes has serious results, and one can never feel sure that a Kashmiri will not ruin some simple work by improving and modifying the instructions given to him.

The Kashmiris are fond of singing and of song-birds, and it is very pretty to hear them singing as they dibble in the young rice plants or break the clods with their wooden mallets. Some of the songs are full of poetical thought, and the airs are sweet and plaintive. They are fond of the beauties of nature, and the city people take their tea out to the almond gardens when they are in bloom, and sit rapt in delight for hours together. The almond gardens in the vicinity of Srinagar are most beautiful when they come into bloom in the early spring. The blossom is chiefly white, though pink flowers occur. The Kashmiri is a very melancholy person. In the middle of a conversation he will sigh in the most irrelevant manner, and say that he sighs for his sins and for the curse that is on Kashmir. Hardly a day passes without reference being made to the curse and to the sin (*Pap*) which brought the curse. All misfortunes - oppression, failure of crops, and loss of cattle - are at once attributed to the curse. What the sin was which brought about the curse I have never discovered. The priests say that it was the sin of lying and malice. They rarely laugh or smile, but are easily moved to tears. When I first commenced the work of inspecting villages I was struck with the sight of grown-up men weeping like children, but I soon found that the tears were often feigned, and further discovered that one or two men were told off in each village to excite sympathy. They are perfect actors. One of the calamities which affects the rice crop is *rai*, and a plant affected by *rai* can at once be distinguished. At each village two or three men used to rush out with bundles of the damaged rice plant, but later, on making inquiries, I found that these bundles were sometimes carried from one village to another.

The Kashmiri is a weak-hearted, somewhat soft creature. He hates rain and cannot stand great heat. I have known men grumble at having to accompany me in the rain, and have seen others quite overcome with the sun when riding with me on village inspections. They possess great muscular strength and can carry enormous weights, but unless they are working for their own benefit they never exert themselves. They dawdle over work and are very fond of using only one hand. I have seen them on occasions, such as the repair of a shrine in cholera time, exert themselves in a surprising manner.

They are extremely dirty in their habits and person, and wash about once in ten days, and this, coupled with the fact that their

clothes are equally dirty, makes them unpleasant companions in the warm weather. Soap is made in the valley, but never used for personal ablutions. In the villages the barber shaves his clients with water. Soap is too valuable to be wasted on so trifling a matter as personal cleanliness, and is reserved for the purpose of softening the woollen cloth of Kashmir. It is a curious fact that, in spite of the dirty appearance of a Kashmiri's dress, great activity is shown in washing clothes, more especially in the city. It is true that the Kashmiris are a dirty people, but in many villages, especially in those which are not irrigated, there are latrines erected at some distance from the houses. So that the germ of sanitary ideas exists in the valley.

The Musalmans of the city are very similar in character and disposition to the Kashmiri of the villages, but the city man is more effeminate, more lazy, and more helpless. He will not work or try to improve his condition, for experience tells him that this is superfluous. It is, in his opinion, the duty of the State to feed him and to provide fuel cheap, but he himself is unfettered by any duties. When labour is wanted for carriage it must be obtained from the villages, as the city man is too delicate to work. He objects to any innovations, and when sanitary reforms are suggested the city howls with indignation. They soon forget the horrors of cholera and the ravages of fire, and they ridicule drainage and streets as wild ideas of another world. Like the villager, the city man likes to keep himself warm in the winter, and the home atmosphere in the winter months is neither healthy nor conducive to the development of energy. The *hammam* is a great institution, and there are four public baths in Srinagar. The men go to the bath in the day, the women at night, and they take their food with them. For half an anna a man can have a regular bath, while one-quarter of an anna entitles him to the privilege of standing under the tap of water. In the city the Musalmans consider it necessary to resort to the *hammam* once a week, and there is a proverb which prescribes wine daily, the *hammam* once a week, emetics once a month, and blood-letting once a year. I am sorry to say that drinking is increasing rapidly, both among the Hindus and Musalmans, the drink chiefly in use being the apple brandy made in the State distillery. The Hindus, being followers of Shiva, are justified in the use of meat and wine, but in the villages the Musalmans still abstain from liquor, though I know one or two

influential headmen who indulge. As in India, the sole object of drinking liquor is intoxication, and the fashionable youths of Srinagar back themselves to drink off a quart of apple brandy at a draught. Drinking brandy has replaced a worse habit, the indulgence in bhang mixed with almonds. As a rule Pandits do not take to opium before the age of forty. The city people are not satisfied with cheap food, but they must have their food brought to their very doors, and along their whole length the river banks are lined with boats containing State grain. When it was suggested that grain should be sold at a few places where supervision would be easy, the city people denounced the suggestion as a piece of tyranny. They are near the palace and can make themselves heard.

The city Hindu is in some respects very different to the Hindu of the villages. The latter is a man who works in his fields, and he is often a simple, hard-working and healthy person. The Hindus of the city, who are said to get their living by -

"nalam, kalam, ya halam,"
Lying, writing, or begging,

are men who have lived almost entirely upon State employment. They are a very intelligent and intellectual race of men, of excellent manners, and often very charming and amusing companions. They are fluent and ready writers. They can undergo great strain and fatigue when necessity arises, in spite of their soft, gentle appearance. They often amass great wealth in a short time, but they are very generous and lavish in their expenditure, and their money soon goes. It is to be regretted that they have not built any work of public utility in their beloved city. Musalmans have built mosques and baths, but I cannot remember any institution bequeathed to the people by a Pandit. The expenditure on marriages is heavy, and the unfortunate head of a family has to support all the members, though many of them may be in good circumstances. They are very true to one another, and, owing to their unity and to the fact that they have monopolized all State offices, their power has been enormous. They used not to be very scrupulous in their methods of obtaining office and money, but they are bad managers, and have made very little out of the landed property acquired during their term of authority. In character, disposition, and ability they are, as private individuals, infinitely

superior to the Musalmans of Kashmir, but, as will be seen in the chapter on Administration, they have proved, as officials, rapacious, short-sighted, and cruel.

It is difficult to describe a people's character, but the account I have given of the Kashmiris is already too long, and there is no space for anecdotes which might perhaps give a better clue to character than general remarks. I would, however, add that the Kashmiris possess an individuality and national character which will cling to them wherever they go. I have seen men who have returned to Kashmir, whose ancestors left the country two or three generations ago. Their dress was changed and their manners had changed, yet they retained unmistakeable signs of descent. The Kashmiris are fond of their own country, its food, its water, and its dress, and, though oppression has driven them out of the valley, many have come back and all are loth to leave. The Kashmiri proverb, "*Tsari chu thari peth karar*", which means that a bird is content when it is on its own branch, is often quoted by a Kashmiri when the advantages of service in the Panjab are pointed out to him. Finally, though the character of Kashmiris leaves much to be desired, I think it is to their credit that it is not worse, considering the few chances they have had for becoming truthful, manly, and self-respecting. The word *izzat* is often on their lips, and they deplore the fact that they have no honour in the eyes of their rulers or of their fellows. A man who can be beaten and robbed by any one with a vestige of authority soon ceases to respect himself and his fellow-men, and it is useless to look for the virtues of a free people among the Kashmiris, and unfair to twit them with the absence of such virtues. The Kashmiri is what his rulers have made him, but I believe and hope that two generations of a just and strong rule will transform him into a useful, intelligent, and fairly honest man.

Walter Lawrence: *The Valley of Kashmir*

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"*nalam, kalam, ya halam,*"
Lying, writing, or begging,

are men who have lived almost entirely upon State employment. They are a very intelligent and intellectual race of men, of excellent manners, and often very charming and amusing companions. They are fluent and ready writers. They can undergo great strain and fatigue when necessity arises, in spite of their soft, gentle appearance. They often amass great wealth in a short time, but they are very generous and lavish in their expenditure, and their money soon goes. It is to be regretted that they have not built any work of public utility in their beloved city. Musalmans have built mosques and baths, but I cannot remember any institution bequeathed to the people by a Pandit. The expenditure on marriages is heavy, and the unfortunate head of a family has to support all the members, though many of them may be in good circumstances. They are very true to one another, and, owing to their unity and to the fact that they have monopolized all State offices, their power has been enormous. They used not to be very scrupulous in their methods of obtaining office and money, but they are bad managers, and have made very little out of the landed property acquired during their term of authority. In character, disposition, and ability they are, as private individuals, infinitely

superior to the Musalmans of Kashmir, but, as will be seen in the chapter on Administration, they have proved, as officials, rapacious, short-sighted, and cruel.

It is difficult to describe a people's character, but the account I have given of the Kashmiris is already too long, and there is no space for anecdotes which might perhaps give a better clue to character than general remarks. I would, however, add that the Kashmiris possess an individuality and national character which will cling to them wherever they go. I have seen men who have returned to Kashmir, whose ancestors left the country two or three generations ago. Their dress was changed and their manners had changed, yet they retained unmistakeable signs of descent. The Kashmiris are fond of their own country, its food, its water, and its dress, and, though oppression has driven them out of the valley, many have come back and all are loth to leave. The Kashmiri proverb, "*Tsari chu thari peth karar*", which means that a bird is content when it is on its own branch, is often quoted by a Kashmiri when the advantages of service in the Panjab are pointed out to him. Finally, though the character of Kashmiris leaves much to be desired, I think it is to their credit that it is not worse, considering the few chances they have had for becoming truthful, manly, and self-respecting. The word *izzat* is often on their lips, and they deplore the fact that they have no honour in the eyes of their rulers or of their fellows. A man who can be beaten and robbed by any one with a vestige of authority soon ceases to respect himself and his fellow-men, and it is useless to look for the virtues of a free people among the Kashmiris, and unfair to twit them with the absence of such virtues. The Kashmiri is what his rulers have made him, but I believe and hope that two generations of a just and strong rule will transform him into a useful, intelligent, and fairly honest man.

Walter Lawrence: *The Valley of Kashmir*

CHAPTER IX

THE HINDU AND MUSLIM FESTIVALS

The Hindu customs and festivals which have survived are colourful and happy occasions. The year is filled with them; it seems that the Hindu servant can always find some festival as an excuse for a holiday.

The one that I first saw in Jammu was Diwali - the festival of lights - which is held at the commencement of the winter. In some parts of India it is celebrated for a week, with crackers being let off each night. In Jammu, as in many other places, on the night of Diwali hundreds of little earthenware dishes are filled with castor oil into which cotton wicks are put and lighted. These are placed at equal intervals along the cornices of the houses, on window-sills and on door steps, so outlining the shape of the house with glowing lights. The name of the festival is without doubt taken from the Hindu word "diva", which means lamp. This is the occasion when the people worship Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth; it is the time when they take out their money and worship it; when the shop-keeper takes out his books, worships them and makes up new ones for the next year. It is also the day throughout which men gamble in the belief that it will bring luck for the coming year. It is a pretty festival, this one of the lights, one which has been improved upon with the passing years and the introduction of coloured electric light bulbs, even the trees outside the houses of the wealthy now being decorated with many hundreds of them.

And on this as well as some of the other festivals it is the custom to call on relations and friends with gifts of sweets most attractively done up with coloured cords and with some decorated with thin silver foil. When the fruits are in season, the choicest of these are also presented; when there are too many to be eaten, they are passed on to the poor.

Another Hindu festival is Holi. This is a real carnival occasion, usually coming in March; then the people are changing into their lighter clothes. For this feast white is worn, for it can be sent to the dhobi and boiled clean the next day, since on Holi coloured powder is thrown in clouds over the people just as confetti is

scattered about at a wedding. They smear the powder on each other's faces, in their hair, over their beards, and then to complete the frightful mess, so that it cannot be shaken out, syringes are brought along and water squirted freely. We read of the Maharaja in the old days joining happily in the festivities which lasted for days; on the last of these the people went into the streets scattering the powder and squirting water over all at will. None dared to object, they usually joined in the fun - and strangely enough the dhobies were among those who made, and were in, the greatest mess, possibly because it is the occasion when they - of low caste - are permitted to celebrate freely.

Basant Panchmi is a Hindu festival to which the servants of the Maharaja and the Government did not look forward with pleasure. This is the Festival of Spring, when everyone wears yellow; if not completely clothed in it, then a yellow pugaree or a dupatta - scarf. It was the day on which the Maharaja, also dressed in yellow and seated on a yellow cushion, accepted presents of a percentage of each of his State servants' wages which, one after the other they brought and laid before him. And although the Maharaja was in Jammu at this season of the year, his officials and servants in Srinagar also had to make their contribution, the rulers place being taken by a gaddi or a yellow cushion. The givers came forward in correct order of precedence, from ministers down to gardeners - the more humble servants, because of the small amount of their pay, being permitted to make a contribution of fruits or flowers. Then followed songs, music and dancing by the nautch girls dressed in tight bodices and net, tinsel-spangled and trimmed skirts over long pantaloons, tight at the ankles, round which were silver bells matching those on the wrists, with each girl affecting a different pose, some brazenly laughing, other with shy-girl, downcast eyes, but always in the direction of the men, the watching women being of no account.

The Hindu festival of Dasehra I saw celebrated in Srinagar. It is surprising the number of these festivals the Muslims join; in this it is almost as though it were their own. Dasehra is held in memory of the victory of Rama, or Ram, one of the great heroes of Hindu mythology, over Rawan, or Ravana, the King of Ceylon. The many incidents of this particular war, which all Hindus have learned from the book *Ramayana*, are performed during the days preceding the great day of Dasehra, then immense images of

Rawan and his relations, usually three in all, are set up. They are of paper built on a framework of bamboo and stand about thirty feet high. In the evening of the day, Sita, the wife of Ram, and the one whom Rawan has stolen, personated by a boy dressed up, is carried forward and lets fly an arrow at the central figure of Ram. At this signal it is bedlam let loose, the cannon crackers go off - these representing the blast of the artillery - the faggots resting at the feet of the images of Ram's enemies are set ablaze, and they are all blown up, burnt and destroyed. It is a terrific firework display held on the polo ground, in the old days with the Maharaja present, now with all the principal people of the city sitting in the favoured positions, but quickly over-run when the fires start.

The festival takes place in the autumn, just when the cold weather is commencing, so that winter clothes are brought out, the women - and the men - wrapped in gay coloured pashmina shawls or wearing heavily embroidered, loose dressing-gown types of coats. The glorious chinar trees surrounding the ground are also changing their colour and are flaming red, just as though they also were joining in the festival, making a grand contribution.

The Muslims also have their holy days, and just like the Hindus, those which they consider the most important in Kashmir, although they may not be the same ones as are celebrated in other parts of India or Pakistan. Srinagar is naturally the centre of Muslim festivities, just as Jammu, with its large Hindu population is that of their belief, but here again all communities seem to join in making them general holidays, and like those of the Hindus the dates change, some of the Muslim festivals being controlled by the appearance of the moon.

This applies in particular to the Id-ul-Fitr celebration which follows the thirty days of the fast of Ramzan, when no good Muslim will take food or water, smoke or partake of any pleasures during the hours of daylight. At this time except for the very old and the sick, the latter completing their fast after they have regained their health, they may only eat and drink between dusk and dawn, just before dawn taking a bath so that they may start another day of fast clean of body. Since Ramzan falls during the hottest time of the year, one can imagine the awful strain that this penance must be. You can watch the fasting Muslim becoming thinner, you can see him slowing up in his work; for some reason unknown to me, many of them also cease to laugh during that time.

The mosques are very full on the Fridays - which are the sabbath days of the Muslims - of those days the last being the most important of them all. Then comes that final one of the thirty days, the sunset of that day is eagerly awaited; all eyes are turned to the skies, for if the moon, which is always new at that time of the month, appears, then the fast may be broken that night, but if not, the faithful must wait for yet another day, when the fast may be broken, whether the moon is seen or not. This is followed by the feast of Ramzan, which the people celebrate by filling their own bellies, and those of their friends - even Hindu friends if they can take the food - after which they return to the normal way of life. During this period of the fast gifts to the mosques have increased; because of the fasting period, the faithful have considered their religion the more, even those who do not go without, being reminded of it by looking at those who do, and all Kashmiris, being superstitious make their contribution to the poor box. In fact on all the five religious days of the year the preparation of food to be given to the poor and needy forms the labours of the women; that of the men it would seem is in the giving, although I have seen veiled Muslim women standing at their doorways, dispensing charity to beggars.

One of the greatest of all Muslim festivals is Id-ul-Zuha. Strange as it may seem, it does not have any connection with the Prophet of Islam. It commemorates a great event in the life of a prophet, that of Abraham, on the occasion when he was about to sacrifice his son to the glory of God. The only great difference between the stories as written in the Bible and the Koran being that whereas Abraham's son is called Isaac in the one he is called Ismail in the other. According to the Muslim traditional records, the Prophet Abraham - or Ibrahim as there recorded - who built a temple at Kabiba, had a vision there one night directing him to "sacrifice in the name of the Lord, thy God", and the Prophet sacrificed sheep and camels. The vision appeared again, on the second occasion insisting on the sacrifice of "the thing dearest to thee - thy son". Early on the morning of the tenth of the Islamic lunar month of Zil-Hajj, Abraham rose, bathed both himself and his son, put on new clothes and set off for the Mount with the boy following. On the Mount he blindfolded his son and laid him down on the altar, tying him hand and foot, then as he drew forth the great knife from the sleeve of his long toga, the Angel Gabriel

appeared and as the Prophet lifted his eyes to the heavens, removed the prone figure of the boy and replaced it with an Arabian ibex, which Abraham slew as, gripped tight in his trembling hand, the knife fell. It is this awe-inspiring, great act of devotion to his God that on this day is celebrated.

That is why it is obligatory on all Muslims who are able to afford it, to sacrifice on that day an animal, usually a sheep or a goat, sometimes a camel. These animals are carefully selected and bought days, sometimes weeks, before, conscientiously conforming to the prescribed requirements of a young beast without blemish. On this morning, always wearing new clothes with white predominating, but every colour present, the Muslim men and boys make either for the mosques or on to the maidans for congregational prayers. The women remain to pray at home, although on rare occasions they might be seen together behind the great crowd of men. These prayers demonstrating the brotherhood of all Muslims, irrespective of rank or station in life, result in high officials of the State rubbing shoulders with beggars and men of poor means, whilst the prayers are led by just anyone chosen from among the congregation. The prayers finished, the Imam delivers a sermon, and although those who listen may not understand his words, since they are often spoken in Arabic, they know that he is telling them of the significance of the great event the day commemorates, and calling upon them to rededicate themselves to go forward with God's message of peace on earth and goodwill towards all men. The finish of the sermon is the signal for each of the congregation to turn and embrace the man nearest him then move among the crowd embracing all and sundry.

Returning to their homes, they exchange greetings with the rest of their family, embrace even the servants, and give money to them as well as to the children. The animal, which has been given a bath that morning, is then brought out, often it has splashes of yellow here and there on its coat. The sacrifice as performed by Abraham is then made, usually by the head of the house or some elderly relation, after reciting a text of dedication. The larger portion of the meat should be given to the poor and needy, some sent with due ceremony to relations and friends, and the rest cooked and served in the many dishes of grilled and roasted meat which are eaten the day through.

The Muslims' most important festival though is Miraj-i-Alam,

the anniversary of the night on which the Prophet ascended from Jerusalem into Heaven. Next on the list is Id-i-Milad, which is the anniversary of the Prophet's birthday.

The greatest of the Buddhist Festivals is Lord Buddha's birthday. The Sikh's most important one is Guru Hargovind's Day.

Christmas is a day which observed to an extent by all, the day when shops are closed, the day when people who have any contact with Europeans wear their best clothes, whatever their faith. There are few Kashmiri Christians, for as Canon Tyndale-Biscoe has pointed out, it is not easy for a Hindu or a Muslim to change his faith to Christian without being turned out from his family home, persecuted, and even "killed in an accident". But there are the Europeans who live there, admittedly far fewer now than before, and even those were reduced in number during the winter months when they went down to the plains. On Christmas day the servants appear at your door, whether it be a bungalow or a houseboat. They bring with them their children, all of them being in festive dress, just as they had been for one of their own celebrations, and they stand and look - waiting for the sahib to give them a present. If they are your own personal servants, then you are expected to give each some article of clothing, in addition to handing some money to the head of the family, and sending a present to his wife, for she would not have come with them, although she might come separately to your wife if she happens to be there. Then come the floods of other people, the traders will bring presents, but the others come to collect baksheesh even although you never remember having seen them before, until in the end - unless you have started to celebrate early - you get worked up to a shocking state at being denuded of all you had in your pocket. Somehow with me this temper lasted for only a short time, for I began to remember that with so many of them they really did believe that it was "better to give than receive", that they so looked forward to that particular day of the year, would be so proud to walk round to show those friends whose masters or patrons had gone to the plains what the sahibs had given them. It was in all so little to each one, and like their own festivals a time of goodwill; the winter had come, they were shut into their valley, business was bad, the store cupboards were being slowly reduced in their contents. And Christmas in Kashmir can be a wonderful time; so often the first fall of snow comes by that date, the smell of pine logs floats over

the air, the snow-stilled quietness is such that the music from the little organ in the church carries far, as does that from the radio sets tuned in to Christmas programmes. And when returning from church, or taking a short walk, meeting those of the land, it never strikes them that although you might be a European, you might not follow the Christian faith, so that you are greeted with a smile, a lifting of the hand in salutation and though they may not speak English, yet they always know, "A Merry Christmas, sahib!" And hearing it in that country where poverty is to be found everywhere, you feel ashamed that you could earlier have been annoyed, and now wish you had bags of gold to scatter, that all of them might be happy and merry with you on that day, for you know they really wish you well.

In Jammu, the Muslims and the Hindus are as distinct from each other in their beliefs, their festivals and their worshipping as they are in the rest of India and Pakistan. This also applies to Poonch and the other border States where the Muslims predominate. They tolerate each other, very seldom clash, but never blend. In the Valley it is different; in so many of the festivals and superstitions if not the beliefs, one finds traces of the Hindu in the Muslim and vica versa. Never does the Christian move one iota from his beliefs, neither does the Buddhist. Then it must be remembered that in the Valley this wholesale conversion from Hindu to Muslim, back again to Hindu, then returning to Muslim, went on ding-dong between every few generations in the old days; the other parts of the country escaped it. Small wonder that there is this trace, not of one being absorbed by the other, but a tolerance, even an interest in the other. It seems that in their conversion, they never entirely gave up those beliefs they had learnt as children, for there never seems to be an inborn hatred or despising of those of the other faith. A certain amount of credit for this must go to the Dogra rulers, who although orthodox Hindus had shown many signs of indulgence, such as giving money for the repair of mosques, and under whom the State maintained mullahs to perform certain ceremonies, such as marriages....

My quite innocent question to one old Hindu who had taken me to see a holy cave in which was a kind of grotto, as to its story; his answer that it was the home and death cell of a great sadhu - a holy man of the Hindus - and the immediate denial of this by the Muslim driver, who insisted that in it there once lived a famous

Punjabi fakir - a holy man of the Indian Muslims - ended in blows between them, for it was in Jammu Province and both were Dogra. Finally I had to separate them, cursing the day that I had troubled to go to see the cave. We journeyed back with the Muslim and Hindu sitting next to each other in front of me looking straight ahead in stony silence, a great relief from the outward journey when each chattered to the other, and I had every reason to be concerned over the lack of the driver's attention to the winding narrow road.

There does not seem to be a very great percentage of either of the faiths who practice their religion in the really orthodox fashion and live their lives as laid down by the books. Few fail to observe their own festivals though, while many also enjoy those of the other religion, and when you attempt to discuss their professed religion or way of life with them, it is surprising how little they really know of it in the Valley. Among the Hindus in any event, all over India one finds a different story attached to not only the various festivals, but also the divinities, while each part has its own particular god the people worship; this applies frequently to each caste.

Of most beliefs and customs the Hindu and Muslim teachings and practices are the reverse. For instance, the Hindu worships the cow, the Muslim eats it - that is if he is permitted to do so. To the Muslim the pig is unclean; the Sikh considers it a succulent dish. The Kashmiri Muslim shaves his head, whilst the Sikh grows his long. The Sikh does not smoke, but is permitted to drink spirits; with the Muslim it is the other way about. The Muslim sabbath is Friday, the Hindu holy day Tuesday. The Muslim buries his dead; the Hindu, like the Buddhist, burns his. The Muslim is circumcised, the Hindu, and especially the Sikh, will suffer much rather than agree to the operation, even on a doctor's advice. The Hindu worships in temples - their women flock to them each day - and also before their gods either as a statue or a picture in the home. The Muslim should always worship with others in the mosque; he is not forbidden to worship in the house (his womenfolk should) but men should not do so unless they are sick....

The Hindu will decorate his temples with pictures, statues and carvings of gods and other figures. The Muslim is only permitted to adorn his mosques with scrolls and texts from the Koran; there is nowhere a picture of the Prophet Muhammed. The Hindu believes in reincarnation. The Muslim believes in a hereafter.

Both believe in God; the Muslim prays direct to him, the Hindu to his own smaller god and there are few of those of the Valley who do not believe that the stone replica or the symbol of him is the actual god. The majority of those people you see in Hindu temples are women and children, but in the mosques of the Muslims women are seldom seen. The worshippers are men, the children their sons.

In the Valley both will pray or plant prayer flags before some saint's grave that is said to bring good fortune to "give" something; both will drink of a spring which is said to cure some ill, though it may be reputed to have been made to flow by either a sadhu or a saint, it matters not. Both remove their shoes before entering temple or mosque; that is common everywhere though, just as are the beggars who congregate outside the mosques on Fridays and outside the temples on Festival days - and there are very many smaller "holy" days than those celebrated by all; the ordinary pandit may have forgotten them, the beggar has not...

The principal or more famous temples are also often beautiful; usually they are placed close to a river, or have a pool fed by a clear spring of water overhung by shady trees and teeming with hundreds of sacred fish; nearby will be a stream where the worshippers may bathe. The temples are filled with the scent of flowers brought there and kept fresh by the water scattered over them; most of the idols stand within a trough, many have an earthenware jar resting on an iron stand over them, and from this, water is taken to keep the blossoms fresh, to continue throwing forth their divine scent. Within the temple there is gaiety, light and a heavenly aroma.

Within the mosque there is a sombreness, the air is heavy, the light is dim, except when all are assembled and the lamps are lit, then a solemnity rests over the building with the rows of men, standing with heads bowed and hands before them held out palm upwards, or kneeling with heads bent until they touch the ground, all moving together like soldiers on parade.

Much in the Muslim beliefs and recorded past is like that of the Christians.... The Muslim acknowledges that Jesus walked this earth, but will not admit that he was The Son of God. To them he was but a prophet like Abraham and Muhammed, and the greatest of all of them was Muhammed; he was the last.

Lawrence said that he had endeavoured to ascertain the religious ideas of the Hindu, but that he had come to the

conclusion that religion existed only to a slight extent, and that in Kashmir its place was "Taken by an elaborate social code prescribing the conduct of daily life, the sanctions of which were social and not religious". To me it appeared just the same - a way of life....

Except in Janmu Province there are few Hindu Temples in the villages, and these, together with the mosques, are uncared for, unswept, both inside as well as out; the priests and mullahs are mostly uneducated fellows and as superstitious as the followers of the faith they are supposed to teach and lead.

It is only during periods of national calamity or trouble such as earthquakes, floods, outbreaks of cholera and such-like that the temples and mosques are remembered and repaired and for a time even decorated while the people flock to them with trembling lips and generous gifts, but when all the troubles have passed, their religious fervour fades with it. It is as though they feel that they have appeased a wrathful God, and having done so, need pay no more attention until the next time - although surely this is also true of the followers of most other faiths.

Pearce Gervis: *This is Kashmir*

CHAPTER X

ON THE FOLKLORE IN THE STORIES

This collection of folk-tales and ballads from Kashmir presents many features of interest. In the following notes I have not attempted to discuss the general question of their value and of the sources from which they may have been derived. I have confined myself to collecting a series of parallels to the motifs and incidents of the stories, largely drawn from oriental sources. For several of these parallels I am indebted to notes prepared by Sir G. Grierson, Dr. E. Sidney Hartland, and Canon J. A. MacCulloch. These have been specially acknowledged.

MAHMUD OF GHAZNI AND THE FISHERMAN

In this story the Sultan Mahmud, famous for his series of raids in Northern India, like the Khalifah Harun-al-Rashid, is described as wandering through the city in the disguise of a Faqir in search of information. The tale, in fact, is possibly a reminiscence of one of the most interesting stories in 'The Arabian Nights', 'Khalifah, the Fisherman of Baghdad', where the Caliph becomes the partner of Khalifah, the fisherman. In the same collection there is a similar incident in the tale of 'Nur al-Din Ali and the Damsel Anis al-Jalis', where the Caliph becomes partner of Karim, the fisherman.

THE TALE OF A PARROT

Sir G. Grierson compares with the tale the well-known story of Vikramaditya in the *Pancatantra*, of which numerous variants have been collected by M. E. Cosquin. Dr. E. Sidney Hartland writes: "In addition to the variants cited by M. E. Cosquin at the reference given, see *The History of the Forty Vezirs*, translated by Mr. E. J. W. Gibb, in which a king learns a charm from a darvesh and communicates it to his Wazir, who practises it upon him at the first opportunity. The king is forced to enter and re-animate a dead parrot, which persuades the gardener to sell it to a courtesan. She claims a thousand sequins as her fee for a visit which she alleges she had paid to a merchant. She had, however, seen this incident

only in a dream. The parrot judges between the parties, and is then sold to the king's chief wife. The Wazir, who has meanwhile succeeded in occupying the vacant body of the king, boasts to the queen of his knowledge of the charm. She persuades him to try it. The parrot, who is present, watching his opportunity, gets possession of his own body and kills the Wazir." The tale is an illustration of the folk-tale cycle, 'The Separable Soul'. In a tale from the Panjab, while a man was asleep, his soul went wandering about. By and by the soul felt thirsty and went into a pitcher of water to get a drink. While it was inside the pitcher someone put on the lid and imprisoned the soul. When the soul of the man did not return he was believed to be dead, and his corpse was carried out for cremation. By chance someone took the lid off the pitcher and released the soul, which at once returned to its proper owner's body. He revived amidst general rejoicings. The parrot in the tale under consideration is what has been called 'The Life-Index' of the king.

THE TALE OF THE MERCHANT

The plot turns on the intrigue of a dissolute woman with a beggarman. Sir. G. Grierson quotes a variant from the *Linguistic Survey of India*. In the *Jataka* the Queen Kinnara falls in love with "a loathsome, misshapen cripple". The king, when she is detected in this intrigue, orders that her hand should be chopped off. But his chaplain dissuades him: "Sire! be not angry with the queen; all women are just the same." In the collection of Somadeva, 'The Story of the Wife of Sasin', the lady, in the absence of her husband, visits a man whose hands and feet are eaten away by leprosy; and in another tale from the same collection, 'The Story of the Wife of King Simhaksa, and the Wives of his Principal Courtiers', the ladies fall in love with the hump-backed, the blind, and the lame. The stock example of this form of tale, the tragedy of which is admirably enhanced by the contrast between a beautiful woman and her loathsome paramour, is the tale from 'The Arabian Nights', 'The Tale of the Ensorcelled Prince'. Here the vicious wife visits a hideous negro slave, a person who, in oriental tales, is often selected as a paramour by dissolute women. He lives in a hole amidst the rubbish-heaps of the city. "Uncover this basin," he says in a grumbling tone, "and thou shalt find at the bottom the boiled bones of some rats we dined on; pick at these, and then go to the

slop-pot, where thou shalt find some leavings of beer which thou mayest drink."

The tale then diverges into the common motif of the love of a mortal for fairies, who live in a world of their own to which there is access by a spring, the moral being that the merchant is no better than his erring wife. In the story of 'The Queen of the Fairies', the hero in this way finds Ratnamanjari, the daughter of the king of the Vidhyadharas, marries her by the Gandharva rite, and loses her in consequence of the violation of a taboo, a common incident in this cycle of stories. With this may be compared Somadeva's stories: 'The King who married his dependent to the Nereid', and 'Yasha Ketu, the Vidhyadhari Wife, and his Faithful Minister'; and in 'The Arabian Nights', 'The Second Kalandar's Tale', and 'Julnar the Seaborn and her Son, King Badr Basim of Persia'.

THE TALE OF THE GOLDSMITH

This is based on a familiar folk-tale incident - the Language of Signs. In the tale of 'The Prince and the Vizier's Son', the princess "pointed to her breast, then to her head, and, lastly, she laid her hand upon a vessel which stood beside her". This is interpreted to mean: When she put her hand on her forehead she showed that she was Cashma Rani, or 'Eye Queen'; when she touched her breast, "my heart shall be thine"; when she touched the bowl, "my home is Lota, or the bowl". The closest analogy to the present tale will, however, be found in the tale in 'The Arabian Nights' of 'Aziz and 'Azizah', in which, like the wife in this story, the love-lorn cousin of the contemptible hero interprets for her husband the signs of her rival. In the present tale, when the hero goes to the assignation and falls asleep while he is waiting for the girl, he is advised, when he goes a second time, to cut his finger, so that the pain may keep him awake. A good parallel to this incident occurs in 'Gul-i-Bakawali', when the prince, who is determined to keep awake in order that he may not fail to meet Bakawali, cuts his finger and rubs salt into the wound.

The final test of the faithful wife is that she is ready to risk her honour in order to save that of her faithless husband and his paramour. Sir G. Grierson remarks that another version of the episodes in the garden, of the arrest of the lovers, and of the defeat of the Chief Constable, will be found in J. Hertel, *Der Kluge Vizier*,

ein Kaschmirischen Volksroman. This episode assumes various forms. In Somadeva's 'Story of Saktimati', Samudradatta is arrested with another man's wife in the temple of the Yaksa, Manibhadra, and both are placed in confinement. The wife of Samudragupta, Saktimati, exchanges clothes with the paramour of her husband, and allows them to escape. Similar to this is the tale of 'Mohammad the Shalabi, and his Minister, and his Wife' in 'The Arabian Nights', in which Mohammad takes the Qazi's daughter to a place outside the city, where they are caught and imprisoned. Mohammad's wife dresses herself as a youth, enters the prison, and gives her clothes to the girl, who effects her escape. When Mohammad and his wife protest that they have been wrongfully arrested, the king orders that the unfortunate Chief of the Police shall be executed, his house plundered, and his women enslaved.

THE STORY OF YUSUF AND ZULAIKHA

This is the famous tale of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, one of the cycles of great oriental love stories, represented by 'Yusuf and Zulaikha' by Abu'r-Rahman Jami; 'Khusrau and Shirin' by Nizamu'd-Din, who was the author also of 'Majnun and Laila'. In the Qur'an Zulaikha is wife of Qitfir, or Potiphar, the ultimate source whence this tale and that of the dream of Pharaoh are derived. In the story under consideration we have the familiar incident of the Selection of a New King by an Elephant, for which, as Sir G. Grierson points out, we have several parallels from Kashmir. In some of the Kashmir tales the hawk shares the power of selection with the elephant. The fullest discussion of the widespread incident is that by Dr. E. Sidney Hartland. Dr. Hartland adds: "I have also given examples showing that in various places the choice of a king actually depended on omens from animals. Thus, Bapa, the hero of the Guhilots of Mewar, was selected as heir to the throne by an elephant which put a garland round his neck, not once, but thrice." Selection of the heir by a cobra, which shields the child from the sun by its extended hood, is common. Colonel Tod gives several instances from Rajput traditions. The Nagasias and Kharias of the Central Provinces tell similar legends. A legend from the French colony of Senegal-Niger tells of a bird, a metamorphosed hero, who decides the succession to the post of Chief Griot by taking up his abode with the Griot who is to obtain promotion. In a Nubian story a blackbird decides

the choice of a queen by settling on her head. We have a good example in Somadeva: "In that country there was an immemorial custom that an auspicious elephant was driven about by the citizens, and anyone that he took up with his trunk and placed on his back was anointed king."

THE TALE OF THE REED-FLUTE

There is a close resemblance, which we may suppose can hardly be accidental, between this personification of the flute and one of the most poetical passages in 'The Arabian Nights' in the tale of 'Ali Nur-al-Din and Miriam, the Girdle Girl'. "The girl took the bag from him and opening it shook it, whereupon there fell therout two-and-thirty pieces of wood, which she fitted one into another, male into female and female into male, till they became a polished lute of Indian workmanship. Then she uncovered her wrists, and laying the lute on her lap bent over it with the bending of mother over babe and swept the strings with her finger-tips, whereupon it moaned and resounded, and after its old home yearned, and it remembered the water that gave it drink, and the earth whence it sprang, and wherein it grew, and it minded the carpenter who cut it and the polisher who polished it, and the merchants who made it their merchandise, and the ship that shipped it; and it cried and called aloud, and moaned and groaned; and it was as if she asked it of all these things, and it answered her with the tongue of the case, reciting these couplets" - for which reference must be made to Sir R. Burton's version, which, though it may be accurate, can retain little of the music of the original poetry.

THE TALE OF A KING

For the main story Sir G. Grierson refers to the Kashmir stories of 'The Two Brothers' and 'The Four Princes'. The basis of the story is amoral apologue, enforcing the need of caution, which is a commonplace in folk-tales, as in the cycle of 'The Seven Wazirs', "Haste in killing is a vile thing, for 'tis a grave matter: the quick we can kill, but the killed we cannot quicken, and needs must we look to the end of affairs". "Often procrastination serves to avert an inauspicious measure," says Somadeva.

The tale diverges in various ways.

First, we have the 'Potiphar's Wife' cycle, and that of Phædra

and Hippolytus, with their numberless variants, in which a vicious woman fabricates a false charge against her continent stepson, or some other equally innocent person who has the ill-luck to come into contact with her. In Buddhist literature this appears in the tale of the love of Asoka's queen for Kunala, son of her co-queen, Padmavati. On his refusal to accept her advances, the queen, to whom her husband, the emperor, had offered any boon she chose, asked to be allowed to assume royal power for seven days. During this time she sent officers to Taksasila and had Kunala blinded. He appeared before his father in the guise of a lute-player, was recognized, and the queen was burnt to death. The same authority refers to the tale of Sarangdhara, who rejected the advances of his stepmother, and when she complained to the king, it was ordered that his limbs should be cut off, and that he should be exposed to wild beasts, a fate from which he was saved only by a miraculous Voice from Heaven.

Then comes the incident of the king who slays his favourite falcon who dashes the cup out of his hand as he is about to drink the poisoned water. Canon J. A. MacCulloch kindly informs me that there is a version in the Persian Bidpai literature, in the *Anwar-i-Suheli*, the reference to which has been traced by Sir G. Grierson.

Sir G. Grierson also refers to two similar tales from Bengal, one of the tale of a snake in the room of a wedded couple; the other, a full story, with tales of the three guardians, in one of which a horse is substituted for the hawk.

Next, we have the well-known tale of the 'Faithful Dog', best known in the story of Beddgelert. Sir G. Grierson notes that it occurs in the Kashmir tale, 'A Lach of Rupees for a Bit of Advice'; and he quotes the following parallel from Baluchistan: "A shrine dedicated to a dog would be a bit of an oddity anywhere, and something more than an oddity in a Musalman country. Yet such a shrine is to be found in the Kirthar hills. And this is the pious legend that clings to it. Once upon a time there was a dog that changed masters in a pledge for a loan. Now he had not spent many days with his new master before thieves came at dead of night and took off ever so much treasure. But he slunk after the rogues and never let them out of his sight till he had marked down the spot where they had buried the spoil. And, on the morrow, he barked and he barked and made such a to-do, there was nothing

for it but for the master of his house to follow him till he came to the spot where the treasure was buried. Well, the owner was pleased enough to get his goods back, as you may guess. And round the dog's neck he tied a label whereon was writ in plain large letters that the debt was discharged, and with that he sent him packing to his old master. So the dog bounded off home, as pleased as pleased could be. But his master was mighty angry to see him, for he was an honest fellow, and much as he loved his dog, he set more store on being a man of his word. And as a warning to all breakers of pledges he hacked him limb from limb. But when in the end he saw the label round his neck, and heard all that he had done, he was exceedingly sorry. So he gathered up the limbs and buried them in a grave. Had the limbs been the limbs of a true believer, and not the limbs of an unclean beast, he could not have made more pother over the burial. And to the grave of the faithful dog Jhalawan folk resort to this day. And there they sacrifice sheep, and distribute the flesh in alms, in the certain belief that whatsoever they seek, that they will surely find."

In Western folklore the tale assumes various forms, the earliest version appearing in Pausanias. It appears in the *Gesta Romanorum*, No. 26 (Herrtage, p. 98). In the *Book of Sindibad* it appears as the story of 'The Snake and the Cat', the faithful cat killing the snake in the baby's cradle. In the *Pancatantra* and *Hitopadesa* it is a mungoose which attacks the snake, and in *Kalilah and Dimna* a weasel. Somadeva tells it in the form of the 'Story of the Brahman and the Mungoose'.

The account of the shrine erected to the faithful dog in Baluchistan already quoted is not the only instance of worship of this kind in India. In the Central Province the tale is told of a Banjara who, after he killed his dog, "built a temple to the dog's memory, which is called the Kukurra Mandhi. And in this temple is the image of a dog. This temple is in the Drug District, four miles from Balod. A similar story is told of the temple of Kukurra Math in Mandla." When his master learned how basely he had treated the faithful animal, "he wept bitterly and caused the Chitrasar lake to be excavated, and built round at the spot where the dog fell dead, and on the little island in the lake he built a temple in which he placed his dog's image, which is there to this day". The tale has migrated as far west as Ireland and as far east

as China.

THE TALE OF RAJA VIKRAMADITYA

The episode of the princess beset by a serpent is, in a slightly different form, found in the tale in the Book of Tobit, in which, by the advice of Raphael, the devil is scared by the stench of the burnt heart and liver of a fish. Sir G. Grierson quotes a story from Bengal in which we have a princess from whose body a snake issues. It is unnecessary to discuss this tale at length, because, as Dr. E. Sidney Hartland reminds me, it has been examined, with a full collection of parallels, by Mr. F. H. Groome.

THE TALE OF THE AKHUN

Sir G. Grierson remarks that there is a somewhat similar story in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, of which the following is a copy: "There was a Thakur who had nothing to eat in his house, so he said to himself, 'Brother, I'm going to look for service.' There was also a bird of omen, but though he went every day she never gave him one. One day she went out to pick up some food, and before she started she told her children on no account to give an omen to anyone. While she was away the Thakur came as usual, and the chicks gave him the looked-for indication; so he saddled his camel, mounted, and set off.

"Back came the omen-bird, and overtook the Thakur on his way. She assumed the form of a woman. 'Who are you?' said he. 'I'm your wife.' 'Come along; one has become two.' So he took her up on his camel. They came to a tank full of water, and he was compelled to descend for a certain purpose. 'I'll be back in a moment,' said he. 'All right,' said she. On the bank of the tank he saw a snake pursuing a frog. 'It's a shame to let the poor thing be killed,' said he. So he took out his pen-knife and cut bits of flesh out of his thigh with which he fed the snake till it could eat no more. Then he got up and went back to his camel. His thigh was all bloody. 'What's happened?' said the omen-bird. 'A snake was going to eat a frog, so I threw it lumps of flesh from my thigh instead.' Straightway, the omen-bird passed her hand over the wound, and it healed as it was before. Then they got up on the camel and went on their way."

Sir G. Grierson remarks: "This is the end of the extract. The entire story, a long one, will be found on pp. 82 ff. of

Mr. Macalister's *Specimens*. The frog takes the form of a barber and overtakes the Thakur. The three then go on. The snake, out of gratitude for his good meal, also joins the company as a Brahman. The four settle in a city, where the omen-bird gets the Thakur service under the king, on a salary of a lakh of rupees. The king's barber persuades the king to set the Thakur three apparently impossible tasks (to get a snake's jewel, to find a ring thrown into a well, and to get news of his dead and gone ancestors), all of which the Thakur performs with the aid of the snake, the frog, and the omen-bird. To carry out the third task, the omen-bird assumes the form of the Thakur, and gets the king to make a huge funeral pyre, on which she sits. It is lighted, and she flies away in the smoke. She then sends the Thakur to the king with the news that he has come back from the king's ancestors and that they are all well, but want a barber. So the king makes another pyre, and sets his barber on it to go off to his ancestors. The pyre is lighted, and the barber is, of course, burned to death, and the king and the Thakur live happy ever afterwards." The tale belongs to the cycle of Friendly Animals represented in the West by Perraults' famous version of "Puss in Boots". In this cycle the performance of seemingly impossible tasks by the aid of helping animals is common.

The tasks set in the tale now under consideration deserve fuller treatment.

The incident of the ruby with a worm inside it appears in three forms in 'The Arabian Nights'. In the story of 'Ma'aruf the Cobbler and his wife Fatimah', Ma'aruf, when called on to examine a jewel, squeezes it between his thumb and forefinger, and shows that it is "only a bittock of mineral worth a thousand dinars. "Why dost thou style it a jewel? " Again, in the 'Tale of the King who kenned the Quintessence of Things', the old man examines the jewels brought for sale. He decides that one of them is of small value, and the merchant asks: "How can this, which is bigger of bulk and worthier for water and rightier in rondure, be of less value than that?" The Shaikh decides that "in its interior is a teredo, a boring worm; but the other jewel is sound and secure against breakage". Lastly, in the 'Story of Three Sharpers', the sharper says, "An thou determine upon the killing of yonder man, first break the gem, and if thou find therein a worm, thou wilt know the wight's word to have been

veridical." The king smashes the gem with his mace and finds a worm within it.

Further on, in the episode when the jeweller seizes the garment of one of the girls as she is bathing, we have a version of the Swan Maiden cycle, of which an early form appears in the legend of Krishna when he takes the garments of the Gopis as they are bathing in the Jumna. In many cases of tales of this cycle the Swan Maiden is captured to be eventually married to the hero. Sometimes, as in the present case, she is held to ransom. It is unnecessary to discuss at length a cycle of tales which has been fully investigated by Dr. E. Sidney Hartland and by others. Again, we have the incident of the ruby emitting a brilliant light, a *lieu commun* in Eastern and Western folk-tales. In one of Somadeva's stories, 'The Brave King Vikramaditya', the King Hemaprabha gives his daughter, Ratnaprabha, to Naravahanadatta, with "glittering heaps of jewels, gleaming like innumerable wedding fires".

At every word the fairy Lalmal speaks a ruby drops, or seven rubies fall daily from her mouth. In one of Somadeva's tales Marubhuti eats two grains of rice from food in which a child had been cooked, and thus gains the power of spitting gold. On this Mr. Tawney remarks: "In 'Sagas from the Far East' there is a story of a gold-spitting prince. In Gonzenbach's 'Sicilianische Märchen' Quaddaruni's sister drops pearls and precious stones from her hair when she combs it - Dr. Köhler in his note on this tale gives many European parallels. In a Swedish story a gold ring falls from the heroine's mouth whenever she speaks, and in a Norwegian story gold coins. I may add to the parallels quoted by Dr. Köhler, No. 36 in Coelho's 'Contos Portuguezes', in which tale pearls drop from the heroine's mouth."

Lalmal, the fairy, gave the Lapidary her ring and said: "Go thou again into the spring. Close by the side of it thou wilt find a great rock. Show thou my ring unto that rock, and it will arise and stand upright." We are reminded of the wonder-working ring of Aladdin in 'The Arabian Nights'. In a Kashmir tale, 'The Charmed Ring', the merchant's son speaks to the ring, and immediately a beautiful house and a lovely women with golden hair appeared. Sulaiman, or Solomon, entrusts his seal ring, on which his kingdom depends, to his concubine, Aminah. Sakhr, the Jinni, transformed into the king's likeness, takes it, after which Sulaiman is reduced to beggary. But after forty days the Jinni fled, throwing the ring into

the sea, where it was swallowed by a fish, and eventually restored to its owner. The tale is Talmudic, and there is a hint of it in the Qur'an.

In the tale of 'Vinitamati who became a Holy Man', in Somadeva's Collection, the Yaksa gives the hero a ring which averts all calamities known as *iti*, that is to say, excessive rain, drought, locusts, birds, and injury by foreign invaders; and in another tale, 'Sridatta and Mrgankavati', we have a magic ring which counteracts the effects of poison.

The Lady of the Rock turns the Lapidary into a pebble. Then her mother says: "Aha! my girl, I smell the smell of a mortal man" - the "Fee faw fum" of 'Jack, the Giant Killer', common in Märchen. The Italian demon, the Orco, has "a demonic acuteness of scent; he can tell, like a sea-monster, the approach of human flesh". The technical phrase in folk-tales from the Indian plains is *manush-gandha*, "the smell of man's flesh". In a Panjab story, the tale of 'Lal Badshah, the Red King', the ogre cries, "I smell man's flesh, I smell man's blood". In a Bengal story the Raksasas cry: "How, mow, khow! A human being I smell", or "Hye, mye, khye!" with the same meaning.

This tale, it may be remarked, contains a version of the Letter of Death. I have discussed this incident in connexion with the story of Bellerophon. In the Homeric version: "To Bellerophon the gods granted beauty and lovely manhood; but Proitos, in his heart, devised evil for him, and being mightier far drove him from the land of the Argives, whom Zeus had made subject to his sceptre. Now Proitos' wife, goodly Anteia, lusted after him, to have converse in secret love, but no whit prevailed she, for the uprightness of his heart, on wise Bellerophon. Then spake she lyingly to King Proitos: 'Die, Proitos, or else slay Bellerophon, that would have converse in love with me against my will.' So spake she, and anger got hold upon the king at that he heard. To slay him he forbore, for his soul had shame at that; but he sent him to Lykia, and gave him tokens of woe, graving in a folded tablet many deadly things, and bade him show these to Anteia's father, that he might be slain." So the king of Lykia imposed tasks upon him, and when he accomplished them the king gave him his daughter in marriage and half of all the honour of his kingdom. Dr. Sidney Hartland writes: "Thucydides gives a similar story of Pausanias,

Regent of Sparta. The episode of Uriah the Hittite (2 Samuel xi, 14) is another case. Shakespeare, drawing from Saxo Grammaticus (lib. iii), employs it in 'Hamlet'. Walter Map (*De Nugis Curialium*, v, 4) recounts it of Count and Earl Godwin, but leaves the tale half told. It may almost be said to be a commonplace of folk-tales. It generally makes its appearance in tales belonging to the cycle of 'The Man born to be a King'. To this some oriental examples may be added. In Somadeva's 'Story of Sivavarman' the king writes a letter to a neighbouring chief, asking him to slay his minister, Sivavarman. He escapes by announcing that God will not send rain for twelve years on that land in which he is slain. In the Kashmir story of 'The Ogress Queen' the queen writes a letter to her grandmother, a Raksasi, telling her to kill the lad, but a faqir reads it and tears it up. In the Panjab story of 'The Son of Seven Mothers' the queen gives the lad a piece of a broken potsherd, with these words inscribed on it: "Kill the bearer at once, and sprinkle his blood like water." It is read and altered by the hero's wife. In the Bengal story of 'The Boy whom Seven Mothers suckled', the Raksasi queen sends the boy to her mother with a letter requesting her to devour him the moment he delivers the letter. We have the same incident in 'Brave Hiralalbase' and in 'The Demon and the King's son' in the collection of Miss Maive Stokes. Similar to this is the action of the Sultan in the story of 'Ahmed the Orphan'. In Arabic folklore such letters are so common that they are known as "the letters of Mutalammis", one of the intended victims of the trick.

Sir G. Grierson reminds me that there is a good version of the 'Letter of Death' tale in the *Bhakta-mala*, in which Dhrstabuddhi gives a letter to Candrahasa, saying, "Take thou this to my house and give this letter into the hands of my son Madana, and say unto him, 'Prithee carry out what is written therein'." But Candrahasa falls asleep in a garden where comes to sport with her damsels and her fellow-maidens the daughter of Dhrstabuddhi. "By chance she saw Candrahasa as he slept, and love for him entered her heart. So she led her companions away, and then leaving them she returned by another path and gazed enraptured at his beauty. In her yearning she saw by him a letter, with her brother's name upon it. She took it up and read it, and therein was written, 'At once give thou poison (*visa*) to the one that beareth this letter. Delay thou

not in this, or dread my anger.' When she read these words, wroth was she with her father, and filled with pity was she for the youth. Now the damsel's name was Visaya. Ink made she with the collyrium of her eyes, and after the word *visa*, poison, added she but one little syllable *ya*, so that *visa* became *visaya*." So Visaya was married to Candrasahsa, and the plot laid by the vile Dhrstabuddhi came to naught.

We have here also a version of 'Jack and the Beanstalk', fully discussed by Canon J. A. MacCulloch, who points out the connexion between mythology and folklore, where "a primitive mythological way of regarding the universe has suggested and given rise to the chief incident of one of our well-known nursery tales".

On the question of eating the leathern peas, Dr. Sidney Hartland writes: "It may be suspected that the real reason why the hero is forbidden to eat the leathern peas is, not that they are indigestible, but that to do so would be to eat the food of supernatural beings, and so unite himself with them permanently; he might not be able to return; he would become one of them. I have considered elsewhere similar incidents.

"A full discussion of the matter would be very lengthy, and would lead to inquiries into the rights of hospitality, magical belief, and so forth."

When the hero marries the lady, she directs him to ask only for the skin mat, known as the Flying Couch. We may compare this with the flying horses of 'The Arabian Nights'. In the Bengali tales the heroine is carried through the air by two birds, and a club and rope carry peopel across the ocean.

Brahma, in the Hindu mythology, gives Kuvera the great self-moving car, called Puspaka. We met with flying chariots and similar magical vehicles in the tales of Somadeva. The closest parallel to the incident under consideration is the Flying Carpet of the tale of 'Prince Ahmad and the Fairy Peri-Banou' of 'The Arabian Nights'.

CHAPTER XI

FROM HINDU TO PRESENT TIMES

In 1389 there came to the throne Sultan Sikandar. He must have been about eight years of age on his accession, and his mother Hauras - by some known as Sura Begum - a woman of great strength of character, stopped at nothing to protect him during her twelve years of regency; she even had her daughter and son-in-law put to death when she came to hear that they were preparing to lead a rebellion against the young king.

With his name is usually hyphenated But-Shikast or Iconoclast, meaning "The idol breaker". He was a sadistic religious fanatic resolved to obliterate every sign of Hinduism from his country. He destroyed as many as he was able of the beautiful temples which had been built by his predecessors, using the stones where he could in the making of mosques. It is said that for one whole year hundreds of men were employed in the destruction of the grand temples at Martand; those massive stones which they were unable to remove they defaced. All the learned books of the Hindus he ordered to be sunk in the Dal Lake. Then he turned to the people, offering them conversion, death or exile. Many fled, many permitted themselves to be converted and thousands were killed; of the latter it is said that they "burned seven maunds of the sacred threads", worn at all times round the necks "of the murdered Brahmins". His was known as the "gloomy reign", the drinking of wine, gambling and even music not being permitted in the land. His persecution of the Hindus was terrible and his treatment of the people made them so miserable that they prayed for deliverance from his rule, but it went on for twenty-three years.

In 1420 he was succeeded by Zain-ul-Ab-ul-din a youth of seventeen years of age, whose reign is to this day remembered as the happiest for the people of Kashmir. This king's private life was a model to his subjects; "he was virtuous, self-controlled and frugal". His personal and household expenses he paid out of the proceeds

of a copper mine he had discovered; he released all those who had been imprisoned by the kings who had gone before him; he controlled the middle man's profits. He made his brother his Chief Minister, entrusting him with the details of the Government whilst he turned his own attention to greater problems, encouraging the cultivators, building bridges and canals, one of these being the Nalla Mar, then spanned by seven bridges, which runs between the city and Dal Lake. He built a most magnificent palace supplied with cool running waters from the Sind River. It was twelve stories high, each floor having fifty rooms, and in each of these five hundred men could be seated. But like so many of the palaces and houses built by the Muslims, wood was used for its construction, so that no sign of it remains. An old Mullah - one of the few learned ones I have met there - told me that "the Muslims always built their mosques in the valley of wood because it was warmer for the faithful to worship there, as they should do no less than five times a day, whilst the Hindu can easily put up with a cold stone temple, since they pray but once a day and the prayer lasts for but a few minutes".

As ruler Zain-ul-Ab-ul-din made every endeavour to revive Hindu learning, repairing the temples - among them the Takht-i-Sulaiman - remitting the heavy poll-tax which his predecessor had inflicted on those who had been brave enough to remain in the valley, and went so far to encourage those who had fled to return by offering them grants of land. His tolerance of the Brahmins was amazing for a Muslim. To this day many Brahmins will explain this by a centuries-old story which they truly believe, this being that just after he came to the throne he was taken sick and was at the point of death when a Hindu Yogi to whom he had once been kind, came forward and offered to exchange his own soul for that of the dying young king; the one condition he made was that his body should be put in a safe place and there preserved. The king accepted the Yogi's soul, but his brother, the Chief Minister, cremated the body, and from that day the real king was the Hindu ascetic and not Zain-ul-Ab-ul-din.

Another story, and one which is probably true, is that the young king had been suffering for many months from a terrible and painful boil which none of the royal physicians could cure. One Shri Bhatta came forward and offered to remove it painlessly with some golden ointment, which he did. The delighted king had Shri

Bhatta brought to him and requested him to ask for himself any royal favour he wished, but instead he asked that the persecuted Brahmins might be permitted to live in peace in the valley. From that day the king at times showed for those people more consideration than he did for his Muslim subjects and in consequence was known by the Hindus as Badshah, meaning the Great Monarch.

Until that time the official language of the country under the Hindu kings had been Sanskrit. It was he who brought the Persian script into the country. A patron of letters and the fine arts, within his court at all times were to be found writers, poets, musicians and singers, many of whom had travelled far to meet him. Into Kashmir he introduced paper making, silk production and weaving; from the soft wools imported from Ladakh, the shawls for which Kashmir became famous, and also papier mâché work. He was known to be a lover of the field sports.

Even then he had in his blood the desire for conquest, and going out to war, added Tibet and part of the Punjab to his kingdom. In Kashmir he had trouble with the Chaks, a tribe which he eventually drove back into the Dard's country after capturing Pandu Chak their leader whom he had flogged to death; then repenting, he took Hussain Chak, the dead man's son, into his favour.

At the age of sixty-nine Zain-ul-Ab-ul-din died. He left behind a name revered by all Kashmiris, whether Hindu or Muslim, always being remembered as a just, generous and enlightened prince, one who within the space of fifty years had done his best to put right the wrongs committed by those who had sat on the throne for many centuries before him. During his reign the Vale of Kashmir was indeed "the happy valley".

As so often happens, the son of this great king was a weakling and a drunkard. In 1532 Mirza Haider with an army of Turks - or Moghuls - invaded Kashmir from the north, and held it for some years. The next we read is of the Chaks attacking the country from the north. Little is known of these people, except that they were not of Kashmir blood and the only traces now to be found of them are in the northern parts of the state. In the space of thirty-three years from 1554, eight of them ruled. They are said to have been brave men, enormous in stature, unscrupulous and brutally cruel; gradually reducing the country to the poor state it had been in less

than a hundred years before.

Yusaf Khan who came to the throne in 1580 "married a woman of the peasant classes and forgetting all else, gave himself up to pleasure". He is credited with having discovered the charms of Gulmarg. He quarrelled with his minister who, since he was holding all the power, turned the king out of the country. Yusaf Khan's son, Yakub Khan, was made of a different mettle though, and when in 1582 Akbar the Great made his first attack on the country, it was he who got together an army of the Bombas and Kukas, men who lived in the Jhelum Valley, and with the help of heavy rains and the invaders' lack of food, defeated them, inflicting heavy losses on the Moghuls. Then the story twists, for the elated victorious Commander-in-Chief returned to the valley, there to persecute not only the Hindus, but also to ill-treat the Sunni Muslims, so that they appealed to Akbar to release them. He listened to their plea, promised them a return of religious tolerance as well as the complete abolition of the slave trade and in 1585 dispatched a force under Mirza Kasim. Yakub Khan again went forward to meet him, but with a disaffected army behind him, many of whom deserted him and joined the Moghul forces. Yakub Khan was forced to retreat. The invaders reached Srinagar the following year, but were once again attacked by Yakub Khan who had taken up a position on the Takht-i-Sulaiman, while forces from the south under Shamsi Chak also attacked them. At times the invaders were almost defeated, but reinforcements came in time and a year later the period of the Sultans of Kashmir ended, and that of the Moghul Emperors commenced, with Akbar, a contemporary of Queen Elizabeth I, incorporating Kashmir into his empire, at the same time bringing peace to the valley. It was to remain a dependency of the Moghul Emperors for nearly two hundred years.

Akbar visited Kashmir three times. The first occasion was upon his taking over the throne. Among his court then was his finance minister Todar Mal, who from his camp at Patan settled the amount of revenue to be paid by the people. It is said that when he was about to decide upon those taxes to be levied on the inhabitants of Patan itself, the beautiful daughter of a big landlord in that district came to his tent, and in the excitement of the resultant affair he forgot to complete the document. That part of the country had therefore got her to thank for its being omitted from the records and consequent taxation.

During his third visit, Akbar rebuilt the fort on the hill of Hari Parbat and had a wall made around it, paying liberal wages to the workers in the hopes of tempting back those who had fled the country. It is said that in so doing he employed thirty thousand carriers and coolies. But he had his empire to rule from Delhi and could spend little time in Kashmir; in spite of this he was such a ruler that he saw to it that those he left in control faithfully carried out his orders and the people were happy under them.

Akbar's successor was Jehangir who loved Kashmir best of all the countries he ruled. He has come down in history as the great garden maker, among those most famous of his gardens in Kashmir to this day being Shalimar, Nasim and Nishat Baghs with wonderful pavilions in each, all beautifully terraced with cool water spurting from fountains, flowing over cascades and shimmering over marble slopes. He also had planted the now magnificent, massive chinar trees seen throughout the valley. It is interesting to find him writing in his autobiography that he also married a Kashmiri girl, the daughter of a prince of Kashmir, by whom he had a daughter who died when she was but a year old. It was he who in 1627 whilst being carried on his death-bed out of Kashmir and back to Delhi, there to die, was asked if there was anything he wanted. His reply the people of the land have always cherished - "Only Kashmir!"

His son Shah Jahan not only continued his work of building gardens, but also maintained the liberal policy his father had adopted towards his subjects. During this Moghul period it is said that seven hundred and seventy-seven gardens were laid out in the vicinity of the Dal Lake; the roses and bed-musk produced one hundred thousand rupees a year for the State. Some idea of what was then taxed may be gauged from a note that Zaffar Khan, one of the Emperor's *subahs*, "reduced the pole-tax on boatmen and the taxes on sheep; he also put down the practice of seizing the best fruits of the land and the wood for the use of the officials, for this had caused the people to cut down their trees". Itikad Khan, another of the *subahs*, although a cruel ruler, has to his credit the final putting down of the Chaks.

Shah Jahan's son Aurangzeb is referred to in the chronicles as "The Puritanical Moghul monarch", and "his name is one execrated by the Brahmins of Kashmir", whilst "his fierce zeal against the unbelievers made itself felt in Kashmir". Yet the traveller Bernier,

whose writings are frequently quoted, and who passed through the country during that king's reign, refers to the people's wit, intelligence and ingenuity, declaring that "in poetry and sciences they are not inferior to the Persians". He calls Kashmir "the terrestrial paradise of the Indies", talking about the abundance of flowers, fruit and crops.

The Emperor Aurangzeb's one visit came about after he had suffered a serious illness in 1664 and his journey to the Valley of Kashmir was made in order to restore his health. Dr. Bernier arrived there in 1665 and in his book describes this royal visit; later he attended Aurangzeb professionally. The Emperor's journey was not a very happy one for "his passage up the Chenab river was a state of utter confusion and chaos. Then on crossing over the Pir Panjal Pass, one of the many elephants walking head to tail and carrying the ladies of the Court, slipped back, with the result that a dozen or more behind were forced over the precipice, killing some of the women and injuring many of the men, some of the animals rolling to the bottom of the ravine". Here in the valley Aurangzeb remained until the heat of the plains had gone, then he returned to Delhi.

The Moghul empire began to fall into a state of decay, and with its disintegration the governors made themselves into petty kings, so that we read that by 1750 "the office of subah of Kashmir seems to have become hereditary and almost independent of Delhi".

From 1753 Kashmir came under the rule of the Pathans, and from then on until 1819 no less than twenty-eight Shahani Durani governed the country.... Instead of Delhi, Kabul now became the capital from which Kashmir was ruled, but the governors having no idea as to how long they would be permitted to remain in that enviable office, wrung from the country as much as they could before being recalled....

With the Moghul rulers it had been a case of conversion to Islam, death, or flee the country, when Asad Khan ruled, it was conversion or death. The poor wretched pundits who refused conversion to Islam were made to stand with a pitcher filled with ordure upon their heads while the Muslims pelted it with stones for their amusement. When the pitcher broke the Hindu was blinded by the filth which burst from it. After this, just as we now hear of men being forced to dig their own graves, so then they were caused

to make large grass matting bags, then, tied two facing each other, they were pressed into the bags, taken out in boats on to the Dal Lake and dumped alive over the side. That part of the lake is now known as "Bat Mazar" - the graveyard of the Hindus.

Only one of these rulers could be considered better than the others. He was Anir Khan Jawan Sher who built the Amiran Kadal bridge, now known as the seventh bridge, and also constructed the original Shergarhi Palace, used since that time by all the rulers except the last Maharaja. Yet in spite of this, on hearing of the Kashmiris' admiration of the gardens made by the Moghuls on the Dal Lake, he had them destroyed - as many as he was able....

Then Fettah Khan Barakzi offered eight lacs rupees per year to Ranjit Singh, leader of a new warrior sect in the Punjab who had gained for himself the title of "The Lion of the Punjab", for him to attack Kashmir. The Sikh army first advanced by way of the Pir Panjal in 1814, with Ranjit Singh watching operations from Poonch. A story was set abroad by the Raja of Rajauri that the van of the attacking army had been cut off and routed at Hipur by Muhamad Azim; as a result of this the whole of the Sikh army was withdrawn. The "victorious" General returned to Srinagar to give vent to his delight by further unspeakable tortures of the Brahmins, knowing through his spies that it was they who were responsible for this attack. Then a diplomatic courier by name Pundit Birbal Dhar, accompanied by his son Rajkak managed to get through to Lahore, where he begged Ranjit Singh once again to attack Kashmir, promising him this time what assistance it was possible to give from within the country. The spies of Muhamad Azim were good, and hearing through them of this journey and its purpose, he sent for the wives of the two men; Birbal Dhar's wife committed suicide, but the young wife of Rajkak was made a Muslim and sent away to Kabul. Referring to her, Lawrence in 1895 wrote, "where she was living until quite recently".

Muhamad Azim hearing of the might and power of the army which was to attack, fled to Kabul and left his brother Jabar Khan as governor. In 1819 Ranjit Singh's great general Misr Diwan Chand, together with Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu, defeated the new governor who put up little defence, and then entered Shupiyon, later planting the Sikh flag on the topmost point of Hari

Parbat, the fort in Srinagar built by Akbar.

The Sikh rule was much the same as had been that of the others; they appointed a Governor from Lahore, and during the twenty-seven years of the Sikh period, ten governors held the important post. The poor wretched people were taxed even more heavily, and having been converted from Hinduism to Muhammedanism they were again persecuted as such, the Sikhs being an offshoot of the Hindus.

Taxations was crushing, with cultivators who had previously to give a half of their corn to the State, now having to contribute three-quarters. Shawls were taxed twenty-six per cent of their estimated value; in addition to this there was an import duty levied on the wool from which they were made. Every trade and profession was taxed from butchers to scavengers and public notaries to prostitutes, whilst the Kotwal - the Chief Justice - had to pay thirty thousand rupees a year for his appointment, being left to reimburse himself as best he could - one can imagine how.

In addition to this the dreaded "beggar" system of unpaid forced labour, which was nothing less than slave hunting, was re-introduced into the country, the State armed forces rounding up all the able-bodied men and sending them away for long periods to distant places to labour as coolies - often never to return. The fields were tended by the old men and old women as best they could. The younger women hid themselves under burqas - long white gowns which cover them from the crown of their heads to their feet whilst the boys suffered the same fate as their brothers had done hundreds of year before in Corinth.

Again thousands fled the country: this time they were the Muslims.

Moorcroft in his book written after a visit to Kashmir at that time talks of the half-deserted villages, the people practically naked, miserably emaciated and presenting a ghastly picture of poverty and starvation. "The Sikhs look upon the Kashmirians as little better than cattle", he said. If a Sikh murdered a native he was fined a mere sixteen or twenty rupees; of this but four rupees would be paid to the victim's family if he had been a Hindu and two rupees if he had been a Muslim.

Even then the wit in the Kashmiri was not stifled and showed itself on many occasions. He is fond of nicknames, and in 1825 Kirpa Ram was made governor; of him it is written that he was "a

mild self-indulgent man who was fond of boating and boat women". The nickname he earned for himself was Kirpa Shroin, the word tied to his name meaning the sound of the dip of the boat paddle.

1827 saw a severe earthquake in the valley. The city of Srinagar was almost destroyed. Cholera followed in its wake.

On the day in which one ruler, Kharak Singh, died, his son was killed by being crushed to death "by the fall of a piece of wall". The Rani Chand Kaur, mother of the boy, suspecting Sher Singh to be responsible for this, started plotting against him, but "her own slave-girls, with whom Sher Singh held favour, crushed in the head of their mistress at a time when she was enjoying her siesta".

In the time of Sher Singh - the supposed son of Ranjit Singh - a most terrible famine swept the country, one which was felt even in the city. Thousands fled into the Punjab from the State. So long and severe was it that even to the ordinary man in the street this famine is still a landmark in the history of his country.

In 1833 came Colonel Mian Singh, an enlightened ruler and the one Sikh governor who is remembered for the relief he gave to the valley. He imported seed grain and fowls in an effort to replenish the villages; he remitted the heavy tax on marriages, reduced the tax on produce to fifty per cent, that which it had been before the Sikhs came, and with imprisonment and heavy fines punished those who cheated by giving bad measure or making excessive middleman's profits, but upon the death of Ranjit Singh, the soldiers stationed in Kashmir mutinied, rose against this Governor and slaughtered him.

Anarchy prevailed in the Punjab. Weak, perverted and unbalanced successors endeavoured to make some semblance of rule out of the chaos there, but the short-lived Sikh Empire was crumbling. Ranjit Singh's immediate successor died of excess, and Sher Singh, the once Governor of Kashmir, marched on Lahore and seized the government; that was in 1841. The Sikh soldiers paid no attention to the orders of their ruler or to Dhyani Singh - Gulab Singh's brother - his minister, they were completely controlled by their army committees. The minister was in a plot in which a man from Amritsar shot the ruler whilst he was reviewing his troops; then the minister was himself murdered by a Sikh Chieftain.

And while Maharaja Sher Singh was being assassinated, his son and heir, a lad of but twelve years, was murdered at the orders of

his own uncle, being "cruelly cut to pieces with sabres at the moment when he was occupied with his Brahmins in prayer after giving alms to the poor", being a Sanprat Day. And one of those curious little notes one comes across when searching the pages of history, "With the body of Dhyan Singh thirteen wives and female slaves were burnt".

Dhulip Singh, a child of five years was next put on the throne. Hari Singh, nephew of Gulab Singh, became his minister, tried to control the army, failed, fled, was captured and killed, his head being brought back in triumph to Lahore.

Then the power was grabbed jointly by the brother of the child Dhulip Singh's mother and one Lal Singh, her Brahmin paramour. They increased the soldiers' pay, and to give them something to do, set them against Gulab Singh at Jammu; victorious, they brought him to Lahore and made him pay ten million rupees.

Another son of Ranjit Singh next rose against them, but he failed and was murdered by the regent uncle of the child Dhulip Singh; this uncle was later himself murdered. The mother, together with Lal Singh and Tej Singh, the army Commander-in-Chief, next took over the government, and to keep the army busy, for it was much feared by the throne, ordered it to advance into British territory.

During November 1845 a Sikh army of sixty thousand with one hundred and fifty guns crossed the frontier, and in a "bloody and indecisive battle fought at Mudki" in December against some ten thousand British and British-Indian troops in which the Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, took part, five of his aides-de-camp were killed and four wounded. The British held the invaders and in the January of 1846 the battle of Aliwal was fought. The government of Lahore collapsed, Lal Singh was deposed, and Gulab Singh was invited from Jammu to negotiate with the Governor-General, though it was not until February that it was possible for him to arrive at a settlement, the Sikh army still making a stand and not to be thoroughly defeated until the 10th of February at Sobraon. The British troops then marched into Lahore, the Sikh Government submitted, and on the 9th of March, the Treaty of Lahore was concluded. On the 16th of March there came the Treaty of Amritsar by which Gulab Singh became the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir.

As Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu, he was one of the two

Generals who in 1819 helped to add Kashmir to the Sikh Empire. Now leading an army of but five thousand men, he advanced on Srinagar and quelled the mutiny. Having done so, he left Shek Ghulam Muhiuddin there as Governor and returned to the Punjab, but a year later trouble again broke out in the Jhelum Valley; this time it was brought about by the Bombas, a brave but troublesome tribe which claims descent from the Turks. Their leader, Sultan Zabardast Khan had been caught and flung into prison in Srinagar. In revenge, the Bombas under Sher Ahmad exterminated seven thousand men of the Sikh army at Kahori, marched against Kashmir and defeated a force of twelve thousand men under the command of the governor's son Imamuddin at Shilham. The snow fell and the remaining Sikhs were forced to retreat. Zabardast Khan was released, but the governor remained, and during the following year opened the Jama Masjid, the mosque which had been closed since the Sikhs came into power twenty-four years previously.

Gulab Singh remained as the virtual master of the valley although it belonged to the Sikh rulers in Lahore, and so it came about that on the 16th of March, 1846, Kashmir and all the mountainous country east of the river Indus and west of the river Ravi which had been ceded to the British Government by the Sikhs by way of indemnity, was made over to the Maharaja "Gulab Singh and the heirs male of his body" in exchange for three-quarters of a million pounds sterling paid down, and an annual tribute of one horse, twelve goats and six pairs of shawls.

Although appointed by Gulab Singh, Imamuddin, who had succeeded his father as Governor, would not now give up power. Allying himself with Sher Ahmad and his Bombas, they defended Srinagar against the troops sent to take it over, and invested the Hari Parbat fort for forty days. Maharaja Gulab Singh's forces were defeated; Lakap Rai, his representative whom he had sent as the new governor, was killed, while the elated Bombas and Kukas then turned on the people, raiding the valley and plundering the city. Eventually British forces moved into Jammu territory and the defenders surrendered.

The Maharaja Gulab Singh was a Dogra Rajput, in other words a Rajput living in the Dogra country, which is that hilly country running down from the range of mountains which bound Kashmir on the south and the plains of the Punjab.

Born in 1788, he could trace his ancestors back for many generations. They had always been warriors. His great-grandfather, Sarup Singh, was one of the brothers of Ranjit Dev, a ruler who had built up in Jammu a fairly stable government after years of chaos, and whose descendants ruled it until 1809 when they were deposed. At the age of twenty, his branch of the family having fallen on hard times, Gulab Singh was earning the handsome pay of three rupees a month and his rations by military employment under the Killadar of Mungla, a fort to the west of Jhelum. He became discontented though, returned to Jammu, and in 1807, when the Sikhs attacked that city, distinguished himself and "was spoken well of to the Maharaja Rajit Singh". Then in 1811, together with his brother Dhyan, a lad of fifteen years of age, borrowing the money to buy horses, they went to Lahore and were presented to the Maharaja. "Well impressed by their courtly behaviour and handsome features, the Maharaja ordered them to be in personal attendance on him on Rs. 90 per month." After the death of their father they brought up family reinforcements and their twelve-year-old brother Suchetu joined them; he was "graceful and handsome, and at once wormed his way into the Maharaja's regard and confidence", "his engaging qualities met with particular favour from the Maharaja, who became so fond of him that he would never allow him to be absent from his presence". "It was indeed the good looks of the three Dogra brothers" says Dr. Sufi in his *Kashmir* "that evoked an immediate response from Ranjit Singh who had a special eye for personal beauty". Smythe in his *Reigning Family of Lahore* says that when Gulab Singh left his brothers to return to Jammu, they were "in high favour and close intimacy with their royal master, and well instructed as to the use they were to make of their opportunities for the aggrandizement of the family".

Gulab Singh's is truly the story of a soldier of fortune who stopped at absolutely nothing to achieve his objective - the throne of Kashmir and Jammu.

When Rajit Singh attacked Jammu, Gulab Singh and his brothers served under him; their reward came when Jammu had been absorbed into the Sikh Empire, then Gulab Singh was made the Raja of Jammu, his brother Dhyan the Raja of Poonch and the other brother the Raja of Ramnagar. During the following years Gulab Singh conquered both Ladakh and Baltistan as well as

invading Tibet. And when Ranjit Singh died, in addition to the power Gulab Singh already had in Jammu, Ladakh and Baltistan, he also "had a commanding influence in Kashmir".

So it was that he, who is remembered in history for his oppression and avarice, founded the new dynasty, one which was known as the Dogra period, the Maharajas of which ruled over Jammu and Kashmir, including Ladakh, Baltistan and Gilgit.

The condition of Kashmir when he took it over has been described as "deplorable". Although the Government only demanded one half share of the crops grown, either by threat or favours promised but never kept by corrupt officials, they took their share in addition to this. The Maharaja was not a popular ruler, he let things drift - in his latter years he was a complete invalid - he had gained all that he could ever have hoped for and his position as a ruler had been consolidated and made secure by the British who were at hand in the event of trouble. In the Treaty of Amritsar he had given his undertaking "to join with the whole of his military force the British troops when employed in the hills or in the territories adjoining his possessions", and the British Government had promised to "give its aid to Maharaja Gulab Singh in protecting his territories from external enemies", so that he was able to sit back knowing that he had only to deal with any internal outbreaks.

It is recorded that on the day of his death from dropsy in 1857 there was an earthquake in the valley. On his deathbed he had distributed over one hundred thousand rupees to charity. This was indeed a great sacrifice for him to have made, for during the whole of his life he had grabbed at money; it is said that one of his subjects standing in the crowd had but to hold up a rupee as he passed in order to immediately catch the eye of the Maharaja to whom he wished to present a petition.

It is also recorded that an Englishwoman, Mrs. Ashby Carus-Wilson, prevented his five wives committing suttee at the cremation of his body: that was an Hindu custom in which, after the sandalwood funeral pyre had been built, the widows seated themselves on it - the first widow with the head of the corpse in her lap - and all were consumed by the fire. Way back in the time of Sikandar, who died in A.D. 1413, this Sultan in his persecution of the Hindus, had enforced the abolition of suttee, but it had returned with the loss of power by the Muslims, had probably done

so before that time, maybe during the period when one of their more tolerant kings was on the throne.

Gulab Singh's third son, Ranbir Singh, succeeded him. In return for the services of both of these Maharajas to the British during the Indian Mutiny, it was agreed that the original agreement should be amended so that the Maharaja might adopt his own successor from the collateral branches of his family in the event of there being no male heirs of his body.

Ranbir Singh has been described by Lawrence as "a model Prince, devoted to his religion and to Sanskrit learning, but kind and tolerant to the Musalmans, to whom he allowed the free exercise of their religion". As a result of this he was popular with all his subjects, also with the Europeans to whom he was most hospitable - very different from what his father had been once he came to power - and permitting them to open dispensaries and schools. As opposed to the rulers who had gone before him, he was a family man, kindly, moral and simple in his life. He sat daily in public Durbar to receive and answer the petitions of his people; the size of the populations at that time was nowhere near what it had been, or now is of course. An enlightened ruler, he did his best to introduce into the State new staples, spending freely on sericulture, hops, vine and presses. His failing if any, was that he was too soft and kindly, had he but had the strength of will of his father, he could have done so much to develop the valley. Unfortunately during his rule there was a ghastly famine which lasted over two years, this being brought about by excessive rains which came at the wrong time of the year. During that period two-thirds of the population died of starvation and the city as well as the country was this time affected, so that trade also ceased. It took the Maharaja the rest of his reign - some five years - to clear up the troubles and again get his State into order, one of the principal improvements being to make a cart road into the valley, so providing for the importation of food in the event of a recurrence of such a disaster.

In 1877, upon the death of his father, Pratab Singh, as his eldest son, became the Maharaja. Under his rule, very ably assisted by a Council of State and a number of British Officers, Kashmir enjoyed peace at long last and made steady progress.

From all accounts, besides being a sick man most of his life, as a ruler, he was also weak, while family intrigues did not help him

early in his reign and the State fell into a deplorable condition. The Viceroy wrote him that "notwithstanding the ample resources of your State, your treasury was empty, corruption and disorder prevailed in every department and every office: Your Highness was still surrounded by low and unworthy favourites ...". The Maharaja agreed to the formation of a Council of Regency which for a year was presided over by Diwan Lachman Das, and after that by the Maharaja's brother Raja Amar Singh, who was also father of his heir. In 1891 the Maharaja was himself appointed as President of the Council, his brother becoming the Vice-President.

Perhaps the most famous of the British Officers at that time, and one who did most good for the people, was Sir Walter Lawrence who, by his suggested land settlement gave them a proper assessment of taxation of the land, the State claiming far less than the peasants had ever dreamed of in their wildest moments. The heavy taxes that trade had been made to bear were reduced, flood prevention, land reclamation and road-making taking a prominent part in the design for the future. With all this the land bore more fruit, the farmer made larger profits and as a result, with these increased profits the State doubled its revenue. The population increased rapidly.

From the time of the succession of this Maharaja the Viceroy of India had decided that the State of Jammu and Kashmir, although ruled over by its own Maharaja, being feudatory to the British Government like all the other Indian States, should have a British Resident in its capital, and Sir Oliver St. John was ordered to take up that appointment. Prior to that time, from 1851, the Maharaja had only agreed to the appointment of a seasonal British Officer on Special Duty.

Maharaja Pratab Singh was a highly orthodox Hindu - there are some who declare that he was priest-ridden, that he would arrive at no decision without consulting his pundits. In 1925 he died, after ruling for forty years. Just as he was about to breathe his last, in accordance with the Hindu custom, he was hastily carried down from his upstairs room in the palace so that he might die on Mother Earth. Here a cow stood waiting; a thread was tied between the dying Maharaja and the cow since he was by that time too far gone to hold the animal's tail, and by so doing his soul was ensured a safe journey to rest for a while in Heaven. A Brahmin was also brought in from outside the State of Kashmir; he was

shaved from head to foot, then presented with tokens of all those things which had been used by the old Maharaja, such as bed linen, cooking utensils, a motor car, a horse, gold, silver, money and so on. When the Maharaja expired, this Brahmin was deported from the State by the police and forbidden ever to return, for with him he carried away all the sins of the departed ruler.

Those who visited the State during his reign will always remember the Maharaja Pratab Singh as a little man who wore an enormous turban, who was the most generous of hosts, giving lavish State banquets which were before only a visionary story, and as a man possessing a most incredible memory and an enquiring eye.

There being no direct heir, his nephew Hari Singh, the son of the handsome Raja Amar Singh who had died in 1909, became the new Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, "and the steady progress of the State continued with peace within its borders".

Although by far the greater percentage of the people of the sub-continent of India, even until the very last, could not believe that it would happen, on August the 14th and 15th, 1947, the British Government transferred power to the newly-formed Dominions of Pakistan and India. Upon this happening the treaty relations which had until then existed between the British Crown and the Indian Princes lapsed, and by agreement it was left to the rulers of each of the States to decide as to whether they would join one or other of the Dominions. Although he had for long known that the choice would be for him to make, the Maharaja of Kashmir could not arrive at a decision. He was a Hindu, the majority of his subjects were Muslims; the new Government of Pakistan declared itself a Muslim State, that of India had declared itself a secular State. The frontiers of Kashmir adjoined India on the south and Pakistan on the west, still the Maharaja dithered while both Dominions waited for his decision. Fighting broke out in the country, with tribesmen from the North-West Frontier adding their contribution "to save their Muslim brothers from Hindu domination and subjection". The Maharaja, believing that he could no longer control the situation, moved from Srinagar to his winter capital Jammu, and on the 26th of October, 1947, signed a letter of accession of his State of Jammu and Kashmir to India.

Whilst accepting the accession, Lord Louis Mountbatten, the Governor-General of India, explained to the Maharaja that since there had been some dispute as to the accession, it was his

Government's wish that as soon as law and order were restored within the State, a plebiscite should take place to ascertain the wishes of the people.

Pearce Gervis: *This is Kashmir*

CHAPTER XII

SOME ARCHITECTURAL SITES

I traversed the valley in company with Professor H. H. Wilson's "Essay", and have endeavoured to identify the names and places mentioned in that learned and elaborate treatise, and in many instances have not been unsuccessful. As to manuscripts, I have seen a very few whose appearance betokened age, and whose age betokened value; but my knowledge of the cunning of the Kashmirians, and my ignorance of Sanscrit and the Deva-Nagri character, made me so suspicious, that in all cases I have refused to give the prices asked for them. Persian manuscripts are common enough; but having usually taken the best advice on the subject, I do not think that I have missed any in either language that had any pretensions to be considered as a rarity. I observe that the French Asiatic Society were desirous of knowing whether the "metier d'un copyiste" still existed in Kashmir. There are, perhaps, 100 Katibs, or book-writers, still existing in Kashmir, at the rate of about five to ten rupis for a small quire or juzu.

The Hindu history of Kashmir begins with the story of the lake Sati-Saras. Sati (Suttee) signifies a true or chaste wife, in which sense it is one of the names of the wife of Siva. The account of her burning herself is found in the Vishnu Purana, p. 65, and note; and Hindu widows, as I have already noticed, burned themselves in imitation of her. Saras or Sar signifies a lake or water. I have already noticed the mountains of Sati, or Seta Sar, at the north-west end of Kashmir, from which the whole of the valley is visible.

The Raja Taringini, or History of the Rajahs of Kashmir, is (according to Mr. Prinsep) the only Indian history of any antiquity, and commences with an account of the dessication of the valley by Kashyapa Muni, supposed to allude to the Deluge (*Vide* Wilson's "Essay"). The country was entirely covered with water, in the midst of which resided the Demon Jala or Jewala Deo, the spirit god, who preyed upon mankind. It happened that Kashuf, the son of Marichi, and, according to some, the grandson of Brahma, visited the country, lived in pious abstraction upon Mount Sumer, or Soma, turned his attention to the desolate appearance of the earth,

and inquired the cause. The people told him of the residence of Jal Deo in Sati Sar, and his predatory incursions. Kashuf lived a thousand years in austerity, upon the hill of Naubudan, near Hirapur; in consequence of which, Mahadeo (the great God or Creator) sent his servants, Vishnu and Brahma, to expel the demon. Vishnu was engaged in the conflict for 100 years; and at last opened the mountains at Baramula, by which the waters were drained off, and the demon was exposed, taken, and slain; whence the country is called Kashuf Sar, or the lake of Kashuf.

The Musalmans, as I have elsewhere noticed, say that the draining of Kashmir was performed by the prophet Suliman (Solomon), through the instrumentality of the same Kashuf, who, they say, was a Gin or Deo, and the servant of that monarch.

Following the epitome of the *Rajah Taringini* by Professor Wilson, I will shortly remark on such isolated parts of it as I think worthy of notice, with regard to what is there mentioned of particular places and individuals, and will state the success or non-success of my attempts at identification.

I have heard nothing of Kusalghām, the King of Islamabad, nor of Nauder Khan, who introduced fire-worship.

The saying relative to the death of Sankur Khan is still known in Kashmir: "One caldron and one fire saw seven kings before the flesh was boiled."

It would appear also, from the same authority, that Khagendra (B.C. 500) was the first King or Rajaha of Kashmir, who founded a city; although several others are afterwards recorded to have done so. Khagi is probably the present village of Kharg. Gaumaha (the Great Cow) also mentioned, is a place still known in its neighbourhood - at least so I was informed. I would venture to add my opinion, as the result of some little experience, to that of Dr. Vincent, who thinks that many of the names occurring in classical authors may be traced to native appellations existing amongst the Hindus to this day.

I have already noticed the wars of the Pandus.

The king, called Lu, or Lulu, founded a city in the Pergunah of Lolab, in Kashmir, which was, and still is, named after him.

Asoka repaired the temple at Vijayesa, now I believe Bij-Beara, an etymology which I have afterwards noticed. This, I believe, is the building said to have been so high as to have thrown a shadow a kos long at sunrise. The attempt to fix its height by this criterion,

when the remaining data are correctly ascertained, will be interesting and curious. The mound on which it stood is known by the name of Soma or Sumer Thung, already noticed. None of the building is now remaining....

I made, of course, much general inquiry for old coins, giving out that I was always ready to purchase them; but on the eastern bank of the Indus my success has been very trifling. The barren and Alpine country that separates Kashmir from Yarkund and Turkistán is of great extent; the coinage of the north is not recognised in the south; and the natives of the last-mentioned countries bring down bullion instead of rupis, in the shape of little anvils of silver (syci), each worth about 250 rupis, as an article of traffic. The merchants have been the only coiners; and if old silver coins have been at any time their fellow-travellers, they have probably been often melted down, and the metal sold for its intrinsic value. Its being separated and distant from the high-road between east and west in the plains, is a sufficient reason for the non-existence of many old silver coins in the valley, as far as the south is concerned. I think that when the mound of Samur Thung is properly dug into, many copper coins will be found in it. I would have set people to work myself, had I thought it worth while to remain on the spot to watch the workmen, - which I did not, as the few that I preserved from it were of copper, and much injured by time.

I have never seen an old silver coin or a Bactrian coin in the valley. There is one description of copper coin, however, of which I have several, that were given to me, as already mentioned, by the Rajah of Rajawar, in whose country they were dug out; and I have seen the same in Kashmir. They bear an impression of a head, and on the reverse that of a figure armed like a Grecian soldier, and are far more natural than the grotesque figures upon the Indo-Scythian coins. They have most likely been stamped in imitation of the Greek coins.

The tradition of Damodar II being transformed into a snake is still preserved in Kashmir. Snake-worship gained ground after this miracle, although the snake must always have been held sacred, in consequence of the tradition of the serpent connected with the draining of the valley, which would also shew that it was coeval with any that they have. The snake is the companion alike of Siva and Vishnu; and when curled with his tail in his mouth is the well-

known emblem of infinity; and hence the Hindu deities are often decorated with snakes. It is mentioned by Arrian, that the ambassadors of Abbasares told Alexander that two enormous serpents were worshipped in their country; and this would seem to corroborate the opinion that that country was Kashmir.

There is a small lake near Drabagám, called the Níl-nag, further noticed, which I have seen, but have not been able to connect with it the name of Mahaswara, a name of Siva, signifying the Great Lord.

There is a bed of white clay, or chalk, near Mamleshur, in the Pergunah of Kauhina, which is perhaps the Malwa alluded to by Abu Fuzl.

Holora I was informed is the modern Pergunah of Aulur or Trahl.

It is written that the temple on the top of Tukt-i-Sulimán was built by Raja Gopaditya (B.C. 82), or, according to other accounts, by Gomarmind, the son of the Rajah of Yech, who reigned in the Pergunah of that name.

Of all the cities built by the great Lalitaditya, Martund, Kakapur, and Paharispúr, are the only three whose names I have been able to recognise. The former I have already noticed near Pampur; the ruins of the latter are on mounds near the marshes of Simbul on the Jylum. Vajraditya drained it of its valuables and money; and Sankara Verma also constructed a city chiefly of materials furnished by the ruins of Paharispúr, and whose remains, with the great capital of the Garuda pillar I have already noticed near the Tukt-i-Sulimán, and on the right hand of the path from Pampur to Sivirnagur. - *Vide* Wilson's "Essay", pages 53 and 65.

Urasa is now called Gurys, a valley afterwards noticed, three days' march from the city towards Little Tibet *via* Bunderpur, on the Wulur lake.

Chusma (or the spring i-Muthan is, I suppose, the same as Mar-tund.

There is, I believe, a place called Khampila, near Shupeyon.

The Durds, most probably the Dadicæ of Herodotus, are the inhabitants of the country now called Dardu. The major axis of the valley of Kashmir would, I think, if continued, cut through the Dardu country, on the banks of the Indus. It appears to be distinct from Darva, afterwards mentioned. Ptolemy's idea is a very correct one, considering that he did not know how far off the sources of

the Indus were. "Sub fontibus Indi, Deradræ, horum montana supereminent." - *Vide* "Essay", p. 104.

Paktawur, a country north-west of Kashmir, on the right bank of the Kishen Gunga, is, I conclude, the Pactyaca of Herodotus.

Pakli is the origin of the Greek Peucelaotis, though that name was applied to the plain of Peshawur, and modern Pukli is on the east bank of the Indus.

Darva, the Dawurd of Abu Fuzl, where it is said that a King of Kashmir resided for six months, during a season of excessive cold, is, no doubt, the modern Darawur, also on the right bank of the Krishen or Kishen Gunga, and on the other side of the Panjal, and is probably warmer than Kashmir, being much less exposed, and perhaps lower.

Abhisára, I have little doubt, also is the modern Husára or Astor. Ahmed Shah told me that the former was the correct name. Those parts of it that border on the Indus must be warmer than Kashmir. Apo or Abu is sometimes used as a prefix in the east, particularly where age is to be expressed; as Abu-Sind, the father river, or Indus; it is also a name applied to an old man in Tibet. Abba, Father, also, in the New Testament. I was disposed to think that Abhisares or Abassares, as it is written by Arrian, was compounded of Abu and Saras, a lake, which would have been in accordance with Kashmirian tradition; but Professor Wilson informs me that the correct derivation is from Abhi, high, and Saras, essence, substance, but also signifying, as in this combination, the place of going to, or up; and the word Abhisara, therefore, is a term for the highlands or mountains; and the entrance to them up the bed of a river. Husára, therefore, would be derived from the same word, it being chiefly attainable from the place of its junction with the Indus. Husára lies north of Kashmir, which fact would also supply a reason for the remark of D'Anville, that no notice was taken of it in the details of Alexander's marches.

Pravarasena is said to have carried off the throne of the Apsarasas. (Wilson's "Essay", p. 39.) Unless the word Apsarasas be a mistake for Abhisara, which it perhaps is, the story becomes a legend - as Apsarasas are the beautiful dancing girls in the heaven of Indra, or the firmament, and somewhat resemble the Houris of the Musalmans.

The Satagydaë might, perhaps, be read as Suhátagydaë, the inhabitants of the province of Suhát; or they perhaps came from a

district (and a village also) called Suti, on the Krishen-Gunga, between Darawur and the bridge at Kunzelwun, on the borders of Pactawur.

M. Court has placed a people called the Kandari at the junction of the Khunur with the Kabul river. Kandahar would seem to be as obviously derived from the same original root. But the mountains of Gand Gurh, the fort of the Gand or Gandari, are near Derabund, on the Indus. The Gandar Brahmins are mentioned as a low race in Wilson's "Essay", p. 28.

Between Bhimbur and Púñch there is, as already noticed, a range of hills called Koh-i-Ruti, the mountain of the Ruti or Reti, whence, perhaps, the name *Ἀραρὶ* of Strabo; but I feel much less confidence in this than in the other identifications.

I have reserved some remarks on the name of Kashmir until another place.

"Rajah Lultadut (Lalitaditya)," says Abu Fuzl, "was a glorious prince, and gave great attention to the prosperity of his kingdom; and with the divine assistance he conquered Irán, Turán, Fars, Hindustán, Khatái, and almost all the rest of the habitable world. He died in the northern mountains. It is said that, at the curse of a holy man, he was transformed into a stone. There are other marvellous stories of him, too tedious for narration."

The modern account of Martund, as written for me by a native, is as follows:

"They (that is, the temples and houses) were built on the top of Martundh, which appears to have been the name of the plain (of the sun), by Rajah Liltadith, or Lalitaditya, who dwelt in the village of Litapur, in the province of Wuhu (perhaps Vehi). He reigned in the year of the Hejira 192. He was ruler of Kashmir for nearly thirty-six years, and conquered the four quarters of the world. He built a new city, splendid in every respect, on the top of Martundh. Some of the houses were of copper, brass, stones, and bricks. He caused a river or canal to be cut from the great river Limmurdhi (hodie Lidur), which he named Shah-Kul, and had the water conveyed to the top of the hill. The stone temples were ornamented within with jewels, pearls, and gold. The stone pillars (*i.e.* each stone) in front of the temples are thirty yards in breadth. Their height was such that they were beyond limits; and a great poet, I know not who, has described them in this couplet:

'When the heavens look toward this royal building,
its tiara falls upon the earth.'

The meaning of which is, that its head is so much bent backwards for the purpose of looking upwards, that the tiara cannot remain upon it. And it is also added, that Liltadut built for his own residence many houses of stone, the remains of which, together with the temples, are still to be seen.

I have often seen Hindus worshipping at the different holy springs in Kashmir, but never in the temples; and as religious buildings they seem to be entirely neglected, excepting that a Hindu will, perhaps, make a salaam when he first enters one of them.

At present, all that remains of the Pandu Koru, or Temple of Martund, consists of a central and rectangular building, surrounded by a court, or quadrangle, and rectangular colonnade, facing inwards. The length of the outer side of the wall, which is blank, is about ninety yards; that of the front is about fifty-six. The remains of the three gateways opening into the court are now standing. The principal of these fronts due east towards Islamabad. It is also rectangular in its details, and built with enormous blocks of limestone, six or eight feet in length, and one of nine, and of proportionate solidity, and cemented with an excellent mortar. There are, I think, about twenty of the pillars of the colonnade, along the inside of the wall, now remaining, out of more than double that number. The height of the shaft of each pillar is six feet, of the capital twenty inches, and of the base two feet. Between each pillar in the wall are trefoiled niches. But the annexed sketch of the north gate, which is in better preservation than the others, will give a clearer idea of the architecture than can be conveyed by a description. It will be seen by it that the height of the wall, when the building was perfect, must have been about fifteen feet, that of the doorway about eight, and that the larger pillars were part of a portico. Nearly behind each of the latter is a pilaster, but that on the left of the opening (looking at it from the front) is one of the pillars forming the colonnade.

On the interior of the west front there are six pillars on each side of the gate; the east side is a heap of ruins. The capitals of the larger pillars are ornamented with dentils; the shaft, which is grooved rather than fluted, is surmounted by an ornamented neck of beads. The bases are so disfigured by time that I can scarcely

conjecture what they may have been. The form of the arch is trefoil. It is perceived in the shape of the open niche, or doorway, between the pillar and the pilaster, and is surmounted by a single and pointed architrave. The little ornament over the top of the arch is the bust of a female figure, with a string of beads across the breast - most likely that of Luchmi, the wife of Narayun, or Vishnu, to whom, as Surya, or the sun, the temple is dedicated. But it may be that of Parbuti.¹

The facade of the building which stands in the interior is abreast of the gates of either colonnade, and one-third of the whole length of the quadrangle intervenes between it and the front gate, which faces to the west. A bank of stones and rubbish occupies the place where there was originally a flight of steps leading to the doorway. Though not a vestige of them remains, there can be no doubt of the fact, as many of the other old temples in the valley, and those in the Baramula Pass, are constructed more or less on the same plan as that of Martund, and have steps, or the remains of steps, in front of them. The ground-plan is rectangular, about seventeen yards by nine. Both sides of the doorway on the front are carved in relievos, being miniature representations of those in the interior; but they are so much injured by time as to be scarcely perceptible, excepting when the sun brings them out with a strong shadow.

The interior is divided into two compartments; that at the entrance is nine yards in length; and at the western end is an inner chamber, or crypt, of five yards in length, surrounded by blank walls, but open, like the other, to the face of day; all semblance of a roof having long since disappeared beneath the shocks of earthquakes....

In the centre of either side of the larger anterior chamber is a window reaching to the floor, and about eight feet in height. The

Surya, or the sun, is generally represented in a chariot, and, as in the cast of the East India House, sitting on a seven-headed serpent, and holding the attributes of Vishnu, the quoit, the lotus, and the shell. The chariot is drawn by a seven-headed horse, and driven by the legless Arun, a personification of the dawn, or Aurora, both in Irish and Hindu mythology. The figures, in relief, at Martund are erect, the details are much effaced by time; but as Martund is one of the names of Surya, who is rather Vishnu than Siva, I think I am not wrong in saying that the figures are those of Vishnu and Luchmi, rather than of Siva and Parbuti.

walls, thus divided quarterly, are filled up with single figures in relief, two of Surya and two of Luchmi, one in each panel.

The Hindu worshippers of Siva in Kashmir exceed, I think, in number those of Vishnu, though I should say that the temples were generally dedicated to Vishnu. Abu Fuzl, in the *Ayin Akberi*, tells us that Kashmir is esteemed holy land, being dedicated to Mahadeo, the great god, or Siva, and some parts are considered peculiarly sacred. Such a remark, from such an authority, would help to raise a suspicion, already noticed, that the Temple of Martund itself was dedicated to Siva, who also represents the sun.

Siva is worshipped in Kashmir under the names of Sudashu, or Shur, and his consort Parbuti, or Paharvati (the mountain-born nymph), as Uomar, Tropera, etc., and in one place only (Tula Mula, near the hill of Ahathung), as Bhawani.

The largest stone in the whole building rests over the entrance to the inner chamber or crypt; it is not less than ten feet in length, and about a yard in thickness. The whole of the interior is covered with stones that have been shaken down from the roof, and I was informed that there was a spring in the corner of the inner building, which is now blocked up by them. It was once apparently two stories high; and at all events, if I am to judge from other ruins, particularly that of Pandrynton, near the city, and one in the Baramula Pass, the upper part was certainly pyramidal. Its height, now about forty feet, has been diminished by earthquakes, even within the memory of man; and Samud Shah assured me that he remembered it when it was much higher. But it needs not living evidence to persuade any one that this was the case; a great part of the quadrangle being strewn with enormous blocks of limestone, of which the building is entirely composed.

Perhaps the only unaccountable part of the ruins are the two side buildings, or detached wings, if I may use such an expression. They have been shaken out of the perpendicular, and appear to have fallen away from the wall to which they seem to have been joined; but an inspection of their inner face shews them to be sculptured with figures of the same character as those inside the building. They appear, moreover, to have been a mass of solid masonry; and I am forced to conclude that they were merely ornamental, and were joined by a flying buttress to the upper part of the centre building, particularly as the remains of part of an entablature, projecting from the top of the left wing towards the

centre building, would seem to countenance such an opinion. At the south-western corner of the surrounding wall, and on the outside of it, is a small, isolated, and broken pillar. It may have been an inscription, but I have often, and vainly, searched for it in every part of the temple. Close to the little column I found the stone foundation line of a small building, about three or four yards square.

Details, characteristic of different styles, are observable in the architecture of the Temple of Martund. The pyramidal top would remind us of Egypt and the fire altar. The flying buttress, by which I suppose the wings to have been connected with the centre buildings, would savour of the Gothic. The horizontal entablature, supported by the columns in the peristyle, would, as Professor Whewell has obligingly remarked to me, have a resemblance to the Grecian; and also, that, as the columns of the gate in the vignette rise above the pillars of the wall, without bearing any definite relation to them, that part of the building may be Egyptian, Hindu, or any thing but Grecian.

The greater part of the old ruins in Kashmir were built between the times of Asoka (250 B.C.) and the end of the reign of Avante Verma, placed in Prinsep's Tables in A.D. 875; but the same style is apparent in all of them, and the formation of the arch at Lidur has been followed throughout, down to that in the building at Payech, which appears to be the most modern of all. The style of architecture used in the religious buildings in Europe for the first 1000 years of the Christian period is the Romanesque; and much of the description of it by Professor Whewell appears to me to apply generally to the buildings in Kashmir. There are no topes, such as are seen in Afghanistan, in any part of the valley or the surrounding mountain countries; which may be received as good evidence that Kashmir was never, or at least for any long period, in possession of the Indo-Scythic dynasties; under whom they were supposed to have been erected. Topes are of Buddhist origin, and Buddhism did prevail in Kashmir, where there was a succession of Scythian or Turuska princes. The latter, however, must have preceded the Indo-Scythic dynasty in Afghanistan, and the custom of tope building - facts which are in harmony with the accounts in the Rajah Taringini, and the absence of Greek coins in the topes (the Greek dynasty having long ceased to exist), and shew that the fashion of building them did not come into use in Afghanistan until

at least after the Christian era. A reference to Prinsep's Tables will supply the necessary dates.

Few of the Kashmirian ruins, if any, I should say, were Buudhist; those in or upon the edge of water were rather, I should suppose, referable to the worship of the Nags, Nagas, or snake gods. The figures in all the temples are almost always in an erect position, and I have never been able to discover any inscription in those now remaining, although there are two old Buddhu stone inscriptions on the stones of the wall that bounds the Jylum, in the city, brought originally, no doubt, from some temple. One is on the western side of the river, and to the south of the bridge called the Ali Kudal; the other is known as the Malek Yar, near one of the other bridges.

"The characters of the Romanesque," says Professor Whewell, "are a more or less close, and generally rude, imitation of the features of the Roman architecture. The arches are rounded, and supported on pillars, retaining traces of the classical proportions, but generally much more massive. The pilasters, cornices, and entablatures, have no correspondence and similarity with those of classical architecture; there is a prevalence of rectangular faces, and square-edged projections; the openings in walls are small, and subordinate to the surfaces in which they occur; the members of the architecture are massive and heavy, very limited in kind and repetition, the enrichments being introduced rather by sculpturing surfaces than by multiplying and extending the component parts. There is in this style a predominance of horizontal sines, or at least no predominance or elongation of vertical ones. For instance, the walls have no prominent buttresses, and are generally terminated by a strong horizontal tablet or cornice. The same kind of architecture, or perhaps particular modifications of it, have been by various persons termed Saxon, Norman, Lombard, Byzantine", etc.

There is one peculiarity about the older buildings of Kashmir, and that is, that the ornaments on the outside have been comparatively but little attended to, and the wall surrounding the peristyle has, as usual, a colonnade on the interior, but its outside is completely a blank, and unornamented.

I had been struck with the great general resemblance which the temple bore to the recorded disposition of the ark, and its surrounding curtains, and in imitation of which the temple at Jerusalem was built; and it became for a moment a question

whether the Kashmirian temples had not been built by Jewish architects, who had recommended them to be constructed on the same plan, for the sake of convenience merely. It is, however, a curious fact that in Abyssinia, the ancient Ethiopia, which was also called Kush, the ancient Christian churches, as I am informed by Mr. Wolff, are not unlike those of Kashmir, and that they were originally built in imitation of the temple, by the Israelites who followed the Queen of Sheba to Aksum, the capital of Tigree, where she resided with her son Menelik, whom she had by Solomon, who (Menelik) took possession of the throne of Kush, where his descendants are at this moment the Nugus, or Kings, of Abyssinia.

There were certainly no Jews in Kashmir during the whole time that I was there; but the Shah Sahib told Mr. Wolff that there were some in late years, who had been buried on or near the Tukt-i-Sulimán; and that gentleman informs me that the Jews in the cities of Turkistan are now chiefly builders and artificers.

Mr. Wolff, who is on every account so pre-eminently competent to form a judgement upon the subject of the lost tribes, has given it as his opinion that, even if the Afghans be the descendants of Jacob, still they are not descendants of the lost tribes, but Jews, *i.e.* of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin; and that the tradition is not by any means universal amongst the Afghans themselves, whose language does not bear the slightest resemblance to Hebrew, and who derive their ideas on the subject from modern manuscripts. Supposing there were less doubt on the subject, I could easily be persuaded, to judge only from appearance, that some of the Kashmirians were originally descended from a Jewish stock, although the complexions of the women resemble those of the Armenians, or of the Yarkundis of Mogulistan.

Supposing again the sons of Jacob to have moved eastward, they must have travelled along the Herat and Kandahar road. Afterwards they would have been stopped by the mountains, now called the Sulimani range, to which they might have given the name of Sulimán, in ages long antecedent to the time of Muhamad, whose followers tell us that they are so called from the Tukt-i-Sulimán mountain, the appellation by which the highest of them is known. But then the inhabitants of that part by which they must have passed, if, as would be most likely the case, they then turned northward up the country towards Ghuzni, are now called the

Suliman Kyl, or tribe of Solomon - perhaps the descendants of some of them who were contented to remain there. It then becomes the reverse of improbable, that they would by degrees find their way to Kashmir; and that there were Israelites in the land of Assyria and Kush, - which, in Holy Writ, is a large tract of country extended between the Tigris and the Nile, - it is not impossible that some of them may have carried the name with them, and these might have originated the idea of the hill or throne of Solomon in these countries.

There are no old names extant for the Tukt-i-Sulimán in Kashmir, excepting those of the Hindus. But the position of these conjectures, upon the way by which the descendants of the lost tribes may have found their way to the eastward and Kashmir, is much disturbed by the existence of improbabilities arising from the want of similarity of language.

As I would conclude from its insulated situation, its climate, and other advantages alone, that Kashmir has been a place of consequence from the very earliest ages, so would I also infer that its architecture, or some of its peculiarities, like that of Egypt, is more likely to have afforded a prototype than to be a copy of any known style; and that it may be pronounced to be peculiar to the valley. I, at least, know of nothing exactly like it in Hindustan, nor any thing resembling it in any country to the westward of the Indus. But I am largely indebted (as my readers will also be) to the discrimination of a learned professor, who has kindly allowed me to publish the following very comprehensive letter on the subject, addressed to myself, and has also assured me that so very curious and novel a collection of examples has rarely been brought to light.

"I have examined," says Mr. Willis in his letter, "with the greatest possible interest the valuable sketches of temples in Kashmir which you have so kindly submitted to me. They appear to me to be decidedly separated in style from all known examples, and at the same time must be considered as having contributed, amongst many others, to the formation of the Gothic. However, as every style of architecture, although it may have assumed characters that distinguish it effectually from all others, will generally be found to have been derived from some others, either in construction or decoration, I shall proceed to examine the buildings in question, with a view to discover their probable history.

It is impossible to divest oneself of the notion that the architect

of this style was imitating the pediment of the Greeks or Romans, in the gables which appear on the sides of the central buildings, and over the arches. If this be admitted, we have some guide to the period at which the imitation took place; for in all the Greek examples, the pediment, with its horizontal cornice, is simple, unbroken, and low in pitch. In the Roman, on the contrary, the pitch is increased, and the integrity of the horizontal cornice in the later examples is destroyed. At Palmyra and Balbec, for example, the horizontal cornice, instead of being carried straight across, under the tympanum, is broken, and returned back to the face of the wall, and the tympanum itself is formed into a segmental arch. In the baths of the Romans numerous examples occur of a similar treatment of the pediment. In the gables of these latter buildings the horizontal cornice of the pediment appears never to have been carried across, but short returns only were employed, and arched apertures have their heads carried up into the very tympanum. (*Vide* Palladio's Baths, and Cameron, for numerous examples.)

Now the leading feature in every gable of your examples is a pediment of high pitch, with short horizontal returns, each supported by a pilaster or column. The arched aperture rises into the tympanum of the pediment, far above the line of the horizontal cornice. But although the arrangement of this composition appears, so far, to have been borrowed from Roman examples of the kind just mentioned, the details and construction were certainly not so borrowed. The profiles of the mouldings do not appear on your sketches, but enough is shewn to prove that they are not classical, but rather of the Hindu character. There are indications of dentils in one or two of the examples, which may be intended for Roman dentils; but similar ornaments are found in the excavated temples of Ellora and Salsette, if I mistake not.

Again, the form of the arch is totally different from the Roman, being the trefoil. The history of this form is involved in quite as much obscurity as that of the pointed arch. It makes its first appearance in Europe after the first crusade, and may therefore be supposed either to be derived from the East, or from Byzantium, as other evidence may point out. Some of the earliest European examples are in the Romanesque churches of the Rhine.

With respect to the trefoil arches in the buildings of Kashmir, they are arches only in form, not in construction, being erected of

overhanging stones, with horizontal joints; the keystone curiously formed by a piece depending from the covering course of masonry. The architect, therefore, if he were imitating the arches of the Romans, was ignorant of their mechanical principle, and copied them as a form alone; but the construction, by overhanging masonry, is essentially Hindu.

Indeed; following out the same notion a little further, I might say that in the excavated temples of Ellora, and elsewhere, this general principle is employed, namely, that a pier, or column, is always surmounted by a long block, which is decorated in various ways, but which gives to the aperture, or intercolumn, the form of a square trefoil, if I may be allowed the expression.

Again, in the Mahommedan arch, the arch, considered as a form, springs from overhanging corbels at a very much resembling the Kashmir arch, but that the latter are much larger in proportion; the mechanical arch does really spring much higher up than the decorative arch. The Mahommedan arch may be well supposed to have borrowed these characters from the far East, rather than from any European styles.

My intention in these remarks is to shew that the points of difference between the Kashmir buildings and the Roman are of a Hindu character, and that, therefore, their builders were Hindu imitators of the Roman, rather than Roman or Grecian imitators of the Hindu, seeing that the *forms* approach or imitate the Roman, whereas the *workmanship* is of the former character.

I will point out another principle of decoration which appears to me to be Hindu.

The simplest of your examples (Pandrynton is nearly as much so) is the elegant temple of Pa-yech. But the decorations of the interior of the temple of Martund are formed by a representation of this simple arrangement of a temple in relief against the wall on each side of the doorway; and again, the apparently complex elevation of the temple at Patun may be resolved into two such elevations, placed one within the other. But this method of ornamenting the walls of large temples with representations of smaller ones is commonly employed in Hindu architecture.

For example, your temple at Chumba is covered with such representations; and it must be observed that these representations not only contain the gable and its trefoil arch, but also shew the double pyramidal roof behind, which is represented upon the flat

surface of the wall by mouldings; and in the same way, in the Hindu representations above mentioned, the swelled pyramidal roof of the small temples, or shrines, is shewn in low relief.

The conclusion that I arrive at from these remarks is, that the temples of Kashmir are, probably, the work of Hindu or other Asiatic masons, and that the mixture of Roman or other character is the result of an imitation of the later Roman buildings. This would assign them to a period beginning with the Parthian conquests of Syria, by which an opportunity was given to the Eastern workmen to see the buildings of Syria, and even of Egypt; and thus new forms were suggested to them, which they might imitate upon returning to their own country, but would naturally mix with their usual habits of construction. I mentioned Egypt, having the pyramidal cap of your Kashmirian examples in view. This, as a general theory, appears to me preferable to the idea that these buildings were the work of descendants of the Bactrian Greeks; because those portions of classical architecture which are apparently mixed in their Kashmir temples, I have shewn to belong to a later date than Grecian architecture.

I may add, that the general plan of the central buildings of Kashmir resembles that of a Hindu temple, in that both consist of a central mass, nearly square on the plan, with wings of slight projection attached to the sides; and this plan is, as far as I know, peculiar to the buildings in question.

Now, as to the arrangement or plan of the buildings; that will naturally be prescribed by the Ritual for the celebration of which they are erected. However, there appears to be little peculiarity in placing the temple in the midst of a court surrounded by a peristyle, or cloister, facing inwards. The temple of Kailasa, at Ellora, is so arranged, and so are many Hindu temples up to the present period; also many Roman temples, and probably the Greek; as, for example, many of those at Pompeii. The temple now called the *Maison Carrée*, at Nismes, is another case. The three gateways to the court are, perhaps, peculiar, but at Pompeii the entrances to the peristyles are on two or more sides of the enclosure. These peristyles being on a smaller scale than the central buildings, are, as might be expected, often destroyed when the latter has survived.

It must be for the historian to decide whether any new sect arose which would require temples to be erected in a form different from those usually employed. R. WILLIS *Cambridge, March 25, 1841.*

Without being able to boast, either in extent or magnificence, of an approach to equality with the Temple of the Sun at Palmyra, or the ruins of the palace at Persepolis, the Pandu-Koru or Martund is not without pretensions to a locality of scarcely inferior interest, and deserves to be ranked with them, as the leading specimen of a gigantic style of architecture that has decayed with the religion it was intended to cherish, and the prosperity of a country which it could not but adorn. In situation it is far superior to either. Palmyra is surrounded by an ocean of sand, and Persepolis overlooks a marsh; but the Temple of the Sun, or Martund, is built on a natural platform at the foot of some of the noblest mountains, and beneath its ken lies what is undoubtedly the finest and the most *prononcée* valley in the known world. The prospect from the green slope behind it is seen to the greatest advantage upon the approach of evening, when the whole landscape is yet in sunshine, but about to undergo a change; when the broad daylight still rests upon the snowy peaks of the Pir Panjal, but commences a retreat before their widening shadows in the valley beneath them. The luminous and yellow spot in which we recognise the foliage of the distant chinar-tree is suddenly extinguished; village after village becomes wrapped in comparative obscurity; and the last and brilliant beams of an Asiatic setting sun repose for a while upon the grey walls that seem to have been raised on purpose to receive them, and display the ruins of their own temple in the boldest and most beautiful relief. With the exception of the Fakir's dwelling at the Chah-i-Babel, there is not a vestige of human habitation upon the green waste. A solitary villager may be seen passing from one district to another; a few cattle may be grazing in the distance, and a shepherd or two may be seen collecting their flocks for the night; whilst the bleating of their charge only breaks in upon the silence, without disturbing the extraordinary tranquillity, of the scene.

We are not looking upon the monuments of the dead; we step not aside to inspect a tomb, or pause to be saddened by an elegy; the noble pile in the fore-ground is rather an emblem of age than of mortality, and the interest with which we perambulate its ruins is not the less pleasurable because we do not know much that is certain of its antiquity, its founders, or its original use.

Though there are, perhaps, not less than seventy or eighty of these old Hindu buildings in the valley, yet, after having seen Martund, there are, perhaps, but four or five that need be visited, if time be short; and these, I think, are (and they are already noticed), Wentipur; the curious building at Pandrynton, near the present city, which stands in a tank; the exquisite little edifice at Pa-yech, in the centre of the valley, under the northern edge of the plain of No-Nagur; the building on the summit of the Tukt-i-Sulimán; and the enormously massive platforms at Shurjibul or Zojibul, near the city. To these may be added Putun, near, if not much out of the way; and most of the ruins in the Baramula Pass are well worth visiting. The top of the oldest of these, on the right bank of the river, and not far from Baramula, has been a small but perfect pyramid, is surrounded by water; and has quite preserved its shape.

G. T. Vigne: *Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh and Iskardo*

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CHAPTER XIII

BUDDHIST RELIGION

*te Turushkanvayodbhuta' pi punyasraya nripah
Sushkakshetradideseshu mathachaityadi chakrire
prajye rajyakshane tesham praya Kasmiramandalam
bhojyamaste sa Bauddhanam pravrajyorjitatejasam
tato bhagavatah Sakyasimhasya puranirvrte
asmin sahalokadhatau sardham varshasatam hyagat
Bodhisatvascha dese'sminnanekabhumisvaro'bhut
sa cha Nagarjunah srinlan shadarhatvanasamsrayo*

There are in this passage some obvious inaccuracies and some compound of a purport absolutely unknown to the most learned Brahmans. Taking it as it stood, it appeared to involve the position that the Turushka princes preceded Sakya Singha by above a century and a half, and concluding the Gautama of the sixth century before the Christian era to be intended, by the name Sakya Singha, which is always enumerated as a synonym, the date of Gonarda the third was adjusted accordingly in the preceding pages and placed 640 B.C. an opportunity having subsequently occurred of consulting a Burma priest, and a man of some learning, on the subject, there appeared good grounds for revising the passage, and altering the results, in consequence of which several pages previously printed off have been cancelled, and it is only in the marginal dates of the first dynasty that any traces of error have been suffered to remain. These are of comparative unimportance, and will be readily rectified by adverting to the table. We have now then to offer a translation of the passage, premising that the term *Puranirvrte* should be *Parinirvrte*, the sixth case of *Parinirvriti*, or in Pali, *Parinibbuti*, the ordinary term used by the Buddhists to express the final *Nirvriti* or emancipation of their Buddhas or Saints in its fullest sense. *Pari* being added as an intensive prefix. The use of this and some other peculiar expressions, which are at present quite unintelligible to the ablest scholars among the Brahmans of India, but are familiar to the Rahans of the Burman empire, proves that

Kalhana the author of the history of Kashmir, or at least his guides, were well acquainted with the language and probably, with the system of the Buddhists.

"They (Hushka, etc.) of Turushka descent, were princes, asylums of virtune, and they founded colleges and planted sacred trees, in Sushka and other places. During the period of their reign the whole of Kashmir was the enjoyment of Buddhists, eminent for austerity. After them, when 150 years had elapsed from the emancipation of the Lord Sakya Singha in this essence of the world, a Bodhisatva in this country named Nagarjuna, was Bhumisvara (Lord of the earth) and he was the asylum of the six Arhatas."

As the prevalence of Buddhism and consequence of Nagarjuna, if not subverted, were at least checked in the ensuing reign of Abhimanyu, and as the passage expressly states that the circumstance occurred after the Turushka princes, the 150 years subsequent to Sakya Singha must fall within the limits of Abhimanyu's reign. It is therefore necessary only to fix the date of Sakya Singha to determine that of the several reigns occurring in this portion of our history.

In Hamilton's *Nepal*, it is asserted on the authority of local tradition, that "Sakya Singha, the well-known apostle of the nations still attached to the Buddhist faith, existed about the beginning of the Christian era, he being considered the fifth Buddhist Legislator, and distinct from Gautama, who lived in the sixth century before it". Whatever may be the accuracy of this opinion, it may be safely asserted, that it is diametrically opposed to the notions prevalent in all other regions, Brahmanical or Buddhist. In the lexicons of Amara and Hemachandra, Sakya Singha occurs as a synonym of Gautama, Saudodhani, and Mayadevisuta or Gautama, the son of Suddhodhana and of Maya Devi. A similar string of Pali synonyms is used by the priests of Burma "Sudhodani-cha Gotama, Sakyasinha, tat'ha Sakyamuni ch' Adichheh bandhu cha". The Buddhists of Ceylon also consider the fifth Buddha whom they name Maitri as yet to come - *Asiatic Researches* vol. vii pp. 32 and 414.

Sakya Singha, as observed, is always identified with Gautama. The concurring traditions of the Buddhist nations establish the existence of that prince of Magadha in the middle of the sixth century before Christ. There is little reason therefore to call that

fact in question. It is very unaccountable however why Gautama should bear such a synonym as Sakya Singha and no satisfactory explanation of the appellation has yet been traced; it is equally inexplicable also how a prince of central India, should have borne so prominent a share, in the introduction of a religious innovation, the earliest vestiges of which are so clearly referable to the North West of India, to Bactria or even to Tartary. That the Buddhist religion did not originate in Kashmir with Sakya Singha is evident from the whole course of the history, and all tradition points to a period long antecedent to his, for the date of the invention and its author. At the same time Kalhana, well informed as he is in these respects, has evidently confounded the two periods, and hence assigned to Sakya Singha a date corresponding to at least 1332 B.C., although apparently designating the person who flourished B.C. 542. We may therefore venture to correct his chronology with reference to this latter date, although until we can be satisfied that the Sakya Singha of the North West was one individual with the Gautama of Magadha, we cannot venture to attach anything like certainty to this emendation. Some circumstances in favour of the date laid down are adverted to in the concluding observations, and we may here add, that there seems to be a strange connexion between the circumstances and dates of the Zerdushts of Persia and the Buddhists of India, which deserves a more particular investigation than we have hitherto had materials to undertake.

The passage relating to the prevalence of Buddhism in Kashmir includes the mention of an individual, whose history is fully as obscure, if not as important as that of Buddha.

Nagarjuna as a Bodhisatva may be either a religious or a secular character; he was probably the former, as a hierarch, the prototype of the modern Lama of Tibet; his other title however, Bhumisvara may mean a Prince, and has probably induced Colebrooke to translate the text generally thus:

"Damodara was succeeded by three kings, of the race of Turushka and they were followed by a Bodisattva, who wrested the empire from them by the aid of Sakya Singha, and introduced the religion of Buddha into Kashmir. He reigned a hundred years, and was followed by Abhimanyu - *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix, p. 295.

In differing from Colebrooke, there is great probability of committing an error, but in this case, the state of the manuscripts, full of obscurities and mistakes, is a sufficient vindication of a

difference of interpretation, and until we can ascertain what the reading of the original should be, we may allege in support of the translation above preferred, the following considerations:

1. The ascendancy of Buddhism according to the original, continues some time after Abhimanyu's accession, as well as the superintendence of Nagarjuna; he could not therefore have been at that time king of Kashmir.

*tasminavasare Bauddha'pi pravalitam yayuh
Nagarjunena sudhiya Bodhisatvena palitah*

Their superiority is assigned also to argument, not to authority:

*te vadinah parajitya vadena nikhilan budhan
kriyan Nilapuranoctanachchidanmagamadvishah*

"In that time (Abhimanyu's reign) the Buddhists cherished by the learned Bodhisatva, Nagarjuna, maintained the ascendancy; they, the enemies of the Agama (Vedas) and disputations, overcame all the wise men in argument, and demolished the practices, prescribed in the *Nila Purana*."

2. That the *Rajatarangini* does not mean to include Nagarjuna amongst the kings of Kashmir, may be also inferred from his omission in Abul Fazl's lists, prepared, as those were no doubt from correct copies, and by able Pandits, and corresponding exactly with the Sanskrit text in every other instance.

3. The length of Nagarjuna's supposed reign, 150 years, or in fact its specification at all in this part of the history, is also hostile to its occurrence, as precision in this respect, is affected by the author only from the reign of Gonarda the third.

4. We have the authority of the *Vrihat Katha*, the author of which was a Kashmirian, and lived about the same time with Kalhana, for denying the title of king to Nagarjuna. His work is a compilation of fables, it is true, and his account of Nagarjuna is evidently consistent with that character; but it still may serve to show in what light that personage was usually considered by the Hindus. In the 7th section of the book entitled *Ratna Prabha Lambaka*, Nagarjuna, is called the minister of Chirayu, king of Chirayapur, a Bodhisatva, a man of singular virtue and charity, and possessing great medical and chemical knowledge. He allows his

head to be cut off to save the king's life, whose days his knowledge of the elixir of immortality had preserved beyond the natural limits, and the enmity of whose son and successor, he had consequently provoked; his death however being really brought about, observes the author, by the deities, who could not bear his beginning to render men immortal:

*evan Nagarjunarabdham martyanam mrtyunasanam
nasodham daivatairyavatsapi mrtyuvasamgatah*

5. Whoever Nagarjuna might have been, he was undoubtedly once a person of great celebrity, for a large portion of the Kali Yuga, or present age, 400,000 years yet to come, is denominated after him, the Nagarjuniya Saka or era; it is singular therefore that there seem to be few or no legends respecting him, and all are but little satisfactory. A Tantra named *Kaksha Puta* is ascribed to him, but his name does not occur in its pages. A work on medicine is named after him, and a Kanara work the *Pujyapada Charitra* makes mention of him, in a similar character as the *Vrihat Katha*, and alludes to him as possessing some magical means of perpetuating his existence, and transmuting ordinary substances to gold.

In none of these cases, except perhaps as the Sakadhipa, does he seem to be considered as a king.

H. H. Wilson: *The Hindu History of Kashmir*

CHAPTER XIV

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS

Unlike those of the Christian religion, the customs and ceremonies connected with birth, marriage and death in the Hindu and Muslim community of the Valley are quite elaborate, and although they now may not always be carried out entirely as demanded by an orthodox member of the faith, much is; superstitions maintained by fear of something ill resulting being responsible for this.

The ceremony of a Hindu birth is most elaborate, with mystic figures chalked on the floor, fire, pots and pestle being worshipped by a girl, presents to the priest and with shouting and rejoicing if a boy is born - this regardless of the ill effects upon the mother. Always a most careful note is made for the astrologer of the exact time of the birth. On the fourth day all the usual tasty sweetmeats are carefully prepared and sent round as gifts; the mother's parents send her special food. On the ninth day mother and child are bathed in some auspicious hour suggested by the priest, and the child is named. On the eleventh day the mother moves out into the courtyard or compound of the house for the first time, sitting down on the same mystic figure drawn on the ground, and showing the sunshine to the child. The house is swept, the bed remade, and they are no longer "unclean". The family Brahmin is called in, he performs a most curious ceremony in which the mother of the child has to take the five products of the cow, milk, butter, ghee, dung and urine, thus purifying herself. When this is finished the astrologers of the mother and the father cast the child's horoscope; this is most necessary for the time of his or her marriage.

When the child is a month old another feast is given, he then receives new clothes, which are supposed to be made by the priest's wife who uses in their making a rose thorn as a needle. At the age of six months, he takes his first solid food consisting of boiled rice and milk; at that time his ears are pierced for earrings and food is distributed to the relatives. In the third year comes the ceremony of shaving the head, a happy occasion; the boy's hands and feet are dyed red, a feast is provided by the paternal aunt, for which she

receives gifts of rice, salt and money; the boy's hair is buried under a tree. With a girl there is no shaving of the head. When of an age between seven and thirteen on a day fixed by the astrologer, the boy is given the sacred thread and becomes a true Brahmin. The people feast for five days before that date; the maternal uncle presents gifts the day preceding it. The ceremony is performed by the family priest who invokes the protection of the sixty-four deities. Friends and relations give the father gifts of money. It is on this day that the boy is confirmed as a Brahmin; among the many strange things that happen is that he is shown a virgin and a heifer seven times, after which the sacred thread of three strings is placed round his neck, mystic figures are traced on the ground round where he stands, the women sing, coins and shells are thrown over his head, and he is then carried in state down to the river where he performs his prayer ceremonies. Congratulations are offered, everyone gets food, and the priest receives money.

Although there is no reason why a pundit whose wife has been unable to give him a child should not take a second wife, this is not generally done among the middle-class people. Instead they will adopt a son, he may or may not come from those of the pundit's *gotra* - that is his tribal division, and the only restriction made is that the boy must not yet have been invested with the sacred thread. Such a son, if adopted before he is born, is treated as the eldest son, and adopted sons cannot be disinherited as can real sons. A son may also be adopted by a widow, since, in the old days before widows were permitted to remarry, it was only by this means that she could ensure for herself a roof over her head and a bite of food in her old age.

One of the most lovely old Hindu ladies I know in Srinagar has such a son. He must now be one of the wealthiest of pundits there, and he worships his "mother" who is at all times his first consideration. As an unhappy child-widow she was sitting outside the back door of her father-in-law's house when the boy, then but a few days old, was dropped into her lap by a Hindu woman who, hiding her face, hurried on. By the time the girl had realized what had happened the woman had disappeared. She looked down at the child in her lap and after a while she too fled the house eventually to take a job as an ayah to an Englishwoman so that she might bring the child up. It was a long story of which both "mother" and "son" were very proud, one which rang the whole way

through with their deep gratitude for a single Englishwoman who had seen to the education of the boy who, with his inborn astuteness, had been able to build up a progressive business and give to his "mother" a life, as she expressed it "of a Maharani, with all the luxuries and pleasures, but none of the ties!"

The wedding day, always an important day in the life of any man or woman the whole world over, is far more so to the Hindu of the Valley, for during that day the groom is referred to as the Maharaja, the bride as the Maharani, and the best man as the Pot Maharaja, and in the time of Pathan rule, he was likely to be called upon to undertake his duties, since it was not then uncommon for the groom, all decked up in his regalia, to be seized, and in that event the best man became the groom.

The marriage of Hindus is all arranged. In Kashmir this is usually undertaken by one of the professional match-makers, for there is not, as in India, the ever-available "matrimonial column" of the leading daily paper in which parents can advertise for a husband or wife for their adorable and domesticated, cultured daughter or handsome and intelligent son - always with the emphasis on the fair complexion of both, the beauty and sweet nature of the girl or the excellent health and physique of the boy.

When a likely bride has been found for the boy, the family astrologers are called in and the horoscopes of both boy and girl are compared. If these are found to be favourable, there may be arranged the amount of the dowry which is expected to come over with the girl. It is usual for the boy's mother to see the girl, for with the Hindu family system the son frequently remains in the home, bringing his wife into the family, and his mother will have to put up with the new daughter-in-law. As a token of the agreement, the girl's parents send to the boy's parents a little salt, a little sugar and a few rupees. Besides the question of caste among the Hindus, there is also a certain amount of snobbishness, with newly rich traders' families endeavouring to marry their sons and daughters into those of the old aristocrats, for the latter, although they may have fallen into decay and near poverty, are very proud. This is where the match-maker is able to charge an unbelievably high fee for his services.

Again, the astrologers fix the day for the marriage; the houses of both families are swept and decorated, certain rites are performed, one known as *deogun*, from which dates the bride's

formal initiation into Brahminism. On the day of all days, the groom, wearing rich clothes, dripping with jewels and decorated with heron feathers, starts off either on an ornamented, plumed horse or in a boat for his bride's house. Four Hindu attendants are supposed to accompany him, three with yaks' tails and the fourth with a silver cup and a shell, whilst strangely enough a Mussulman holds an ornamental umbrella over the groom's head. Decked out much the same as the groom is another boy - usually a near relative; he is the best man. As they near the bride's home the conch shells are blown, and a relation or an honoured guest of the bride comes down to meet the party. The actual ceremony is often complicated, varying slightly in different parts, the bride wearing the most lovely of fine clothes, her veiled face made up with painted decorations, and always with downcast eyes of modesty. Until the ceremony groom and bride will not have seen each other. If the hour set by the astrologer for the marriage is during the day, then after the marriage feast the guests escort both bride and groom to the house of the groom; if it falls during the night, then the party goes there in the morning. Immediately after the ceremony the bride's father adds three more strings to the groom's sacred thread. Returning to his home, the groom's entrance is barred by either his aunt, or his sister to whom he must pay some money. After one or two days in her husband's home the bride is taken back to her father's home; there she displays the jewels, clothes and other presents she has received, after which she returns to the home of her husband - her father-in-law's house. Child marriage is no longer supposed to take place, but it is said that it does in some villages, although the marriage is not consummated until the bride is about thirteen years of age, after that she no longer keeps on her anklets and wears a headdress called a *taranga* - one sometimes also worn by girls who have reached a marriageable age though they still wear anklets.

Marriages are costly to both Muslim and Hindu fathers who will boast of the terrific amount spent on weddings in the family; often this is by way of explanation for their present poverty. If only the State would make a law that not more than a certain amount may be spent on a wedding, it would be secretly welcomed by those who have become impoverished by them, but as it is, the custom is there, and it is considered a disgrace not to lavish out money on feasting relatives and friends for days, and in giving masses of

presents. The gifts from the father of the bride to his daughter are many, the bridegroom by custom receives from him gold ear-rings and gold armlets - in these days he frequently receives gold studs and rings in place of the latter. The bride receives from her father-in-law the *chandanhar*, which is a gold ornament worn round the neck. In addition to this she is given the *dij haru*, these being gold ear-ornaments of a mystic shape worn by her so long as her husband lives.

Because of the cost of the dowry and the wedding, the most terrible thing to wish a man is that he may be blessed with many daughters. This I once heard done at the border post on entering the State of Jammu and Kashmir, by a Scottish woman who knew her Kashmir well. Her victim was a Hindu Customs officer who had gone out of his way to be unpleasant to her and demanded excessive dues on the articles she was bringing into the country. But on hearing the blessing that she spat at him as she opened her purse, the poor man, white in the face suddenly discovered that he had made a mistake in his calculations, and requested but a fraction of the amount he had first demanded. Just as she was about to drive off in her car, he came up to the door, wished her a comfortable journey and then begged her to withdraw her "blessing". We afterwards heard that the wretched man was then already blessed with six daughters and was hourly expecting to hear that his wife had given him another child!

Poor fathers who have been blessed with many daughters have cursed the day that they married, and been driven to drink or drugs at the realization of the amount they will have to borrow in order to pay the dowry and marriage feast for each; so that one hears of terrible happenings as a result of this custom. One such I heard of the sweeper in a European household the master of which had gone for many months to England. On his return, after a while he noticed that three of the sweeper's eight daughters he had seen grow up were not there. Then it was that this butler told him that while the sahib was away, the sweeper, who had taken to drinking in his worry over his daughters, had sold them one after the other into prostitution houses for three hundred rupees each.

This happened a few years ago. Not many years prior to that time, had the daughters been possessed of good looks and shapely bodies, he could have sold them away as dancing girls for many times that amount; the Kashmiri dancing girl was famed throughout

India for her good looks. In that event the girl did have a chance of becoming the concubine of a man of wealth, and being very powerful in his household if she produced for him his first son, although most of them finished their lives in the brothels, with the clear scented air of their motherland but a dim memory.

Death to the orthodox Hindu has no fears for he believes in reincarnation; there is but the sorrow at parting from his loved ones, and generally parents shower all their love on their children whom they seldom seem to scold when young, husband and wife in an arranged marriage being bound only by them. The dying man is placed on a straw bed of koin grass on a clean place on Mother Earth. Salt, rice and money are given on his behalf to the poor, and the *mantras* are recited without a break beside him. As he breathes his last he is lifted from the bed to the earth, then back on the grass bed and a lamp is lighted at his head, whether it be day or night. There are ceremonies of washing, and wrapping in a sheet, then the body is carried on a board on the shoulders of four men - to whom this task is considered a great honour, and they therefore change places frequently when the followers are many and the journey short on the way to the burning ghat. Sometimes the body is placed on a boat and taken on this down the river to the ghat, one mourner preceding the body, swinging a small pot of burning incense to clear the way, with those surrounding and following the corpse shouting to drive off evil spirits.

The funeral pyre is lighted by the son of the dead man. The cremation is performed by Mussulmans known as *kawji*, who in addition to receiving a fee in cash, are given half the shroud for their services and for providing the wood; the other half of the shroud is burned with the corpse. If the body is that of a woman, then a few ornaments are left on it, and these, when recovered from the fire, are also part of their fee. Those bones which are not consumed by the fire are, two days later, brought to the home and left in a hole in the wall until the day of Gang Ashtmi, when they are taken by the eldest son to the holy lake under the mountain Haramukh and cast in.

For ten days the house of the deceased is unclean and no one will eat food cooked there, and for the ten days that the soul of the dead man journeys to the other world, rites for the dead are performed by the river. The son of the dead man shaves his head and beard for those days of active mourning, and at the end of that

time puts on new clothes given him by his father-in-law. Only then can he return home with the other mourners who form themselves into two lines outside his door so that he may pass into the house between them. On the eleventh day a service is performed for the dead person and for ancestors up to the seventh generation; only now can the family, which has for the ten days abstained from eating meat, partake of it. This same service is performed every fifteenth day for three months, after which it is repeated every month until the anniversary. During the whole of this time, the widows and women of the family mourn, for some months they do not change their clothes. During that time they doubtless pray for a marriage to which they may be bidden, for in that event they may again wear clean clothes and once more place round their necks the thread which was put on at marriage.

The Muslim baby first sees the light of day in the home of his mother's family, she having gone there about two months before his expected arrival. A "wise woman" attends as the midwife, and after the child is born the priest comes in and taking the child by the right ear whispers into it the word *Azan*, so welcoming the child into the new world and faith; he then repeats into the left ear the *Takbir*, adding the warning that death is the end of all things. The mother fasts for two days, then has a meal of wheaten bread and eggs. On the seventh day, known as *sundar* day, the mother bathes and the child is named by the Pir of the family. The name he suggests usually has some connection with the month, for instance it may be that it is the anniversary of the death of a great saint - the boy will receive that name, maybe he was born in the month of *Ramzan* - that will be his name. And on that day the barber will be called to shave the child's head; this is the occasion of a great feast. Two, perhaps three months, will elapse before the mother returns to the home of her father-in-law with the child and bringing with her presents, among which should be a cow with a calf, or a pony with a foal, but in these days he is fortunate if she brings back a goat with a kid. Then at the age of four or five the boy is circumcised. Then is the occasion for a feast and presents. Friends and relatives are invited, the boy's feet and hands are stained with red *mendhi* dye, and he wears the most royal of clothing. For the seven days before the ceremony there is singing and feasting; on the day he is placed on a basket in which is a cock; this is the perquisite of the barber who is called in to perform the

circumcision. Then, the boy by this time usually howling loudly, all the relatives and friends kiss his hand and give him presents of money, after which they carry him off to a shrine, and return to the house of his father for a feast.

The betrothal and marriage of the Muslim is a most complicated affair. If, when the boy has reached the years of puberty a marriage with a near relative cannot be arranged, a go-between is called in. He is not necessarily one who undertakes this as an occupation, but is one who is known for his powers of persuasion. He visits the homes of families with marriageable daughters, tells them highly coloured stories of the wealth, good looks, high birth and connections of his client, and suggests a marriage. From that time the selected girl is no longer allowed to go out of her house or compound. The go-between arranges an informal meeting of both the fathers, at which is settled the day for the betrothals. Shortly after this the father of the boy, accompanied by a small party of relatives, carries to the girl's house some presents, usually consisting of silver bracelets, salt, sugar and cash, and the party is entertained by the girl's father. After the feast the betrothals are announced to the party, the priest, who is always present, asks a blessing, and records the intention of a marriage. The party remains the night and the following morning the boy's father receives from the girl's father, a blanket or a turban, together with half the gift of cash, sugar and salt he had brought with him, with these he returns home. On the four chief Kashmir Muslim holidays, the boy's father sends presents to the girl. For six months visits take place, and after this the marriage date is fixed, with the *Langan Chir* of from Rs. 20 to Rs. 50 being given to the girl's father by the boy's father. For a week before the marriage the girl sits inside her father's house with her hair down, whilst at both her house and that of the boy the singing and drumming goes on for all the days and nights - calling the guests. The day before the marriage, the boy's father sends some *mendhi* dye to the future bride's house; with this she stains her hands and feet. On the day of the marriage, the bridegroom after taking a bath, is dressed up in all his finery and all the jewels the family can produce or borrow, and his relatives come and give him presents. Together with his party he sets off, either walking, riding or by boat; first he visits a nearby shrine, there to say his prayers, then he goes to the graves of his father - if he is dead - and his grandfather;

following that he makes for the bride's house, sending ahead of him the presents and the palanquin in which she will return. As they come close to her home, the women of her party come out, and standing in a half circle facing the men sing songs of welcome, telling the girl inside how handsome is her groom. Then, on his reaching the door, the village barber pours out a jar of water, and into this the groom's representative tosses a silver rupee, a custom known as *adbul* and one repeated when the groom takes his bride away. With the whole party assembled, the groom sits on the cushions like a Maharaja and a feast commences, and not until the guests can eat no more do they start the marriage proper. This commences by the two fathers quarrelling over the *mehr* or dower to be fixed, it is just a form and part of the proceedings; next the headman of the village demands his fees, with him the father quarrels; he is followed by the bearers, and most other servants making their demands. Finally the marriage contract is completed by the Kazi, and he receives his fee without a quibble. Whilst this has been going on the bride and her friends have been examining the presents, and, wearing the best dress she has in her trousseau, she is carried either by her brother or if she has none or he happens to be too young, her maternal uncle, to the palanquin, inside which is a sheep's heart and some salt. In this, accompanied by the bridegroom, her brother and a female relative who will instruct the young virgin girl in the formalities which have later to be observed, she is carried to the bridegroom's house, but on the way the women of the village will come out and demand to see the bride. On reaching the house, she is carried from her palanquin to a room which has been prepared for her; there she sits with downcast head until her mother-in-law comes and raises her face, at the same time taking from the bride's handkerchief some money which is her perquisite and known as *hash kant*. Next all the women of her groom's family come and kiss the bride's hand, placing silver rupees in it. Seldom have bride or groom seen each other before marriage. A great feast is given on the marriage night, it goes on throughout the hours of darkness, so large that usually a contractor comes with all his gigantic pots and pans to prepare and serve it, and not until the next day do the guests depart.

The bride remains seven days in her husband's house, then putting on clothes given her by her father-in-law, she returns to her

own father's house. She may be accompanied to it by her husband, but there he leaves her, and may not again visit her until he is invited by his father-in-law. It may be many months before he and his friends are bidden to return for his bride, then another feast is given, he remains there for three days, and departs with his wife and a present of clothes from his father-in-law: after this husband and wife live together.

There is little doubt that until not many years ago, in the villages, consummation of the marriage took place and cohabitation used to commence when the girl was as young as ten years of age - rather a horrifying thought when the husband was not a boy but a middle-aged man, for a Muslim may have four wives; she is now often but twelve years of age when she first starts to have regular intercourse with her husband, to become a mother by the time that she is fourteen. The girls of those parts mature and age early: at thirty they are middle-aged and can easily be grandmothers, so that it is not unusual for mother and daughter to go on producing babies side by side for some years with uncles and aunts years younger than nephews and nieces, whilst in one case I heard of a grandmother who was competing with an increase in her own family - so often have I been confused by these family complications.

Now we strike another strange custom of the Valley. The Hindu may adopt a son; the Muslim, if it seems as though there will be no possibility of finding a husband for his daughter - and strangely enough Muslim fathers are usually very attached to their daughters - may, when the girl is but a child, take into his house a boy of a family which has been blessed with more sons than money; this boy is known as a *Khana damad*. He is the intended husband for the daughter, and he will work as a labourer for his future father-in-law for something like seven years before he marries the daughter of the house. Oddly enough there is no legal obligation on the part of either man or boy, there is a moral one only, that at the end of the time he can have his bride. The advantage seems to be all on the side of the father-in-law, in that during those years he has the services of a labourer free, the expenses of his daughter's marriage are small, and he keeps his daughter in the house. In the latter years especially though, it has been the custom for a deed of gift to be executed by the man in favour of the boy, and in the event of the boy leaving his house, then the property which is contained in that deed remains with the boy. But this does not

frequently happen and generally future father-in-law and son get on well together whilst the *Khana damad* assumes the Kram - a kind of surname - of his father-in-law. During the cursed beggar system which prevailed in the Sikh times, it was always the poor wretched *Khana damad* who was handed over for service on the road to Gilgit; if he died on the way, the son of the house had escaped that death, so that the *khana damad* system was then most popular.

I recently came across a rather pretty story of a beautiful girl who fell deeply in love with the *Khana damad* who was intended as her husband. Her twin brother warned her that their widower father, a successful and proud farmer, intended, after some six years, to break his contract with the father of the boy, and after turning him out on some trumped up charge, marry her off to a most influential old man of the village. Together, brother and sister conceived a scheme to outwit the father; its success rested entirely on what affection father had for daughter. At night, with her brother in her room, she opened the door to the *Khana damad* and when both were seated together the brother called loudly to his father, who, when he came, was shown by him how he had found the lovers. In the old days, the father would have slain the boy and might also have killed his daughter, but she, by pleading with him, and the son, when his father's temper had subsided, by pointing out the shame he could bring on the family by exposing it, brought the old man to his senses, and the young couple were married shortly afterwards. The story does not finish in true story-book fashion though, for they were childless after being married for nearly twenty years when, from the brother who was also childless, I heard of the affair. Yet, by his will the old man had divided his property equally between son and son-in-law.

Death to the Muslim, though he believes in a hereafter, is not such a happy occasion as it is to the Hindu, who knows that he will return to earth. When his end is near, laid with his head towards the north or east, the Muslim is given his last drink which consists of a *sharbat* made of honey - a Muslim may not take any intoxicating liquor. His family stand round him, and as he breathes his last they call on the name of God and break into wailing and weeping. The washed body is wrapped in a cloth and carried in a *tabut* - a coffin-like box which is kept always in readiness in the mosque - to the graveyard, where the relatives and friends repeat the words of the funeral service. Over the box is flung a cotton pall

the perquisite of the grave-digger and the priest. The body is removed from the box and buried in the cotton cloth. On that day, and for the following three days, the priest and the guests are fed at the home of some relative, since no food may be eaten in the house of the deceased, but on the fourth day which is known as *chaudas*, a great feast is given there. And on the Friday following the death, all return to the graveyard, where as they stand by the mound, a relative flings a coloured cloth over the shoulders of the dead man's heir. For forty days prayers are offered for the soul of the deceased, with food being given both to the priest and to the poor while for one year, gifts must be given each month to the priest, after which, on the anniversary of the death, the priest must receive a gift.

The graveyards of the Muslim, with their limestone slabs sparkling in the sunshine, can be very beautiful, especially in the spring when the mauve and the white iris planted there are in flower, and also later when the shady sacred trees are in leaf. Always close to the village, often on a hill, they seem to overlook it, but there is nothing eerie or morbid about their appearance, no hushed voices as people pass them; those that rest there may hear the happy voices of the small boys and girls as they drive their father's sheep or goats from among the gravestones, the clump of hooves as the tongas or bullock carts go past on the nearby road, or the splash of paddles as they are dipped into the quiet moving waters of the Jhelum or one of the lovely still lakes.

Almost every village has its mosque and attendants, the larger ones boasting their own mullah, the smaller ones having one attending many of them and riding round to each to preach every Friday and holy day as well as attending at births, marriages and deaths. The living is usually held by one family, being passed down from father to son.

Pearce Gervis: *This is Kashmir*

CHAPTER XV

BERNIER'S LETTERS

TO MONSIEUR DE MERVEILLES

First letter written at Delhi, the 14th December, 1664,
Aureng-Zebe being about to set forth

Concerning the March of Aureng-Zebe. His Army, with the horse Artillery which as a rule he retains as a body-guard. The State maintained by his principal Nobles. The causes of the badness of the water, and various other details worthy of note when travelling in the Indies.

Monsieur,

Since the time of *Aureng-Zebe's* recovery it had been constantly rumoured that he intended to visit *Lahor* and *Kachemire*, in order to benefit his health by change of air, and avoid the approaching summer heat, from which a relapse might be apprehended. Many intelligent persons, it is true, could scarcely persuade themselves that the King would venture upon so long a journey while his father remained a prisoner in the citadel of *Agra*. Considerations of policy, however, have yielded to those of health; if indeed this excursion may not rather be attributed to the arts and influence of *Rauchenara-Begum*, who has been long anxious to inhale a purer air than that of the *Seraglio*, and to appear in her turn amid a pompous and magnificent army, as her sister *Begum-Saheb* had done during the reign of *Chah-Jehan*.

The King left this city on the sixth of December, at three o'clock in the afternoon; a day and hour which, according to the astrologers of *Delhi*, cannot fail to prove propitious to long journeys. Having reached *Chah-limar*, his country villa, which is about two leagues distant from the capital, he remained there six

whole days in order to afford time for the preparations required by an expedition which was to last eighteen months. We hear to-day that he has set out with the intention of encamping on the *Lahor* road, and that after two days he will pursue his journey without further delay.

He is attended not only by the thirty-five thousand cavalry which at all times compose his body-guard, and by infantry exceeding ten thousand in number, but likewise by the heavy artillery and the light or stirrup-artillery, so called because it is inseparable from the King's person, which the large pieces of ordnance must occasionally quit for the high roads, in order that they may proceed with greater facility. The heavy artillery consists of seventy pieces, mostly of brass. Many of these cannon are so ponderous that twenty yoke of oxen are necessary to draw them along; and some, when the road is steep or rugged require the aid of elephants, in addition to the oxen, to push the carriage-wheels with their heads and trunks. The stirrup-artillery is composed of fifty or sixty small field-pieces, all of brass; each mounted, as I have observed elsewhere, on a small carriage of neat construction and beautifully painted, decorated with a number of red streamers, and drawn by two handsome horses, driven by an artilleryman. There is always a third or relay horse, which is led by an assistant gunner. These field-pieces travel at a quick rate, so that they may be ranged in front of the royal tent in sufficient time to fire a volley as a signal to the troops of the *King's* arrival.

So large a retinue has given rise to a suspicion that instead of visiting *Kachemire*, we are destined to lay siege to the important city of *Kandahar*, which is situated equally on the frontiers of *Persia*, *Hindoustan* and *Usbec*. It is the capital of a fine and productive country, yielding a very considerable revenue; and the possession of it has consequently been at all times warmly contested between the Monarchs of *Persia* and *India*.

Whatever may be the destination of this formidable force, every person connected therewith must hasten to quit *Dehli*, however the urgency of his affairs may require his stay; and were I to delay my own departure I should find it difficult to overtake the army. Besides, my Navaab, or Agah, *Danech-mend-kan*, expects my arrival with much impatience. He can no more dispense with his philosophical studies in the afternoon than avoid devoting the morning to his weighty duties as Secretary of State for Foreign

Affairs and Grand Master of the Horse. Astronomy, geography, and anatomy are his favourite pursuits, and he reads with avidity the works of *Gassendy* and *Descartes*. I shall commence my journey this very night, after having finally arranged all my affairs, and supplied myself with much the same necessaries as if I were a cavalry officer of rank. As my pay is one hundred and fifty crowns per month, I am expected to keep two good *Turkoman* horses, and I also take with me a powerful *Persian* camel and driver, a groom for my horses, a cook and a servant to go before my horse with a flagon of water in his hand, according to the custom of the country. I am also provided with every useful article, such as a tent of moderate size, a carpet, a portable bed made of four very strong but light canes, a pillow, a couple of covelets, one of which, twice doubled, serves for a mattress, a *soufra*, or round leathern tablecloth used at meals, some few napkins of dyed cloth, three small bags with culinary utensils which are all placed in a large bag, and this bag is again carried in a very capacious and strong double sack of net made of leathern thongs. This double sack likewise contains the provisions, linen, and wearing apparel, both of master and servants. I have taken care to lay in a stock of excellent rice for five or six days' consumption, of sweet biscuits flavoured with anise, of limes and sugar. Nor have I forgotten a linen bag with its small iron hook for the purpose of suspending and draining *days*, or curds; nothing being considered so refreshing in this country as lemonade and *days*. All these things, as I said before, are packed in one large sack, which becomes so unwieldy that three or four men can with difficulty place it on the camel, although the animal kneels down close to it, and all that is required is to turn one of the sides of the sack over its back.

Not a single article which I have mentioned could conveniently be spared during so extended an excursion as the one in prospect. Here we cannot expect the comfortable lodgings and accommodation of our own country; a tent will be our only inn, and we must make up our minds to encamp and live after the fashion of *Arabs* and *Tartars*. Nor can we hope to supply our wants by pillage; in *Hindoustan* every acre of land is considered the property of the King, and the spoliation of a peasant would be a robbery committed upon the King's domain. In undertaking this long march it is consoling to reflect that we shall move in a northern direction, that it is the commencement of winter, and that the

periodical rains have fallen. This is, indeed, the proper season for travelling in the *Indies*, the rains having ceased, and the heat and dust being no longer intolerable. I am also happy at the idea of not being any longer exposed to the danger of eating the bazar bread of *Dehli*, which is often badly baked and full of sand and dust. I may hope, too, for better water than that of the capital, the impurities of which exceed my power of description; as it is accessible to all persons and animals, and the receptacle of every kind of filth. Fevers most difficult to cure are engendered by it, and worms are bred in the legs which produce violent inflammation, attended with much danger. If the patient leave *Dehli*, the worm is generally soon expelled, although there have been instances where it has continued in the system for a year or more. They are commonly of the size and length of the treble string of a violin, and might be easily mistaken for a sinew. In extracting them great caution should be used lest they break; the best way is to draw them out little by little, from day to day, gently winding them round a small twig of the size of a pin.

It is a matter of considerable satisfaction to me to think that I shall not be exposed to any of these inconveniences and dangers, as my *Navaab* has with marked kindness ordered that a new loaf of his own household bread, and a *sourai* of *Ganges* water (with which, like every person attached to the court, he has laden several camels) should be presented to me every morning. A *sourai* is that tin flagon of water, covered with red cloth, which a servant carries before his master's horse. It commonly holds a quart, but mine is purposely made to contain two, a device which I hope may succeed. This flagon keeps the water very cool, provided the cloth which covers it be always moist. The servant who bears it in his hand should also continue in motion and agitate the air; or it should be exposed to the wind, which is usually done by putting the flagon on three neat little sticks arranged so that it may not touch the ground. The moisture of the cloth, the agitation of the air, or exposure to the wind, is absolutely necessary to keep the water fresh, as if this moisture, or rather the water which has been imbibed by the cloth, arrested the little bodies, or fiery particles, existing in the air at the same time that it affords a passage to the nitrous or other particles which impede motion in the water and produce cold, in the same manner as glass arrests water, and allows light to pass through it, in consequence of the contexture and particular disposition of the

particles of glass, and the difference which exists between the minute particles of water and those of light. It is only in the field that this tin flagon is used. When at home, we put the water into jars made of a certain porous earth, which are covered with a wet cloth; and, if exposed to the wind, these jars keep the water much cooler than the flagon. The higher sort of people make use of saltpetre, whether in town or with the army. They pour the water, or any other liquid they may wish to cool, into a tin flagon, round and long-necked, as I have seen *English* glass bottles. The flagon is then stirred, for the space of seven or eight minutes, in water into which three or four handfuls of saltpetre have been thrown. The liquid thus becomes very cold and is by no means unwholesome, as I apprehended, though at first it sometimes affects the bowels.

But to what purpose am I indulging in scientific disquisitions when on the eve of departure, when my thoughts should be occupied with the burning sun to which I am about to be exposed, and which in the *Indies* it is sufficiently painful to endure at any season; with the daily packing, loading and unloading; with the never-ceasing instructions to servants; with the pitching and striking of my tent; with marches by day, and marches by night; in short, with the precarious and wandering life which for the ensuing eighteen months I am doomed to experience Adieu, my *Friend*; I shall not fail to perform my promise, and to impart to you from time to time all our adventures. The army on this occasion will advance by easy marches: it will not be disquieted with the apprehension of an enemy, but move with the gorgeous magnificence peculiar to the Kings of *Hindoustan*. I shall therefore endeavour to note every interesting occurrence in order that I may communicate it as soon as we arrive at *Lahor*.

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JOURNEY TO KASHMIR

Letter written at Bember, the entrance to the Mountains of Kachemire, after having encamped near that place for two days.

A description of Bember, we change our carriage there for that adapted to Hill travelling, incredible number of Men-Porters, and the order of March that has to be observed for five days when going through the Mountain Passes.

Monsieur,

At length we have reached *Bember*, situated at the foot of a steep, black, and scorched mountain. We are encamped in the dry bed of a considerable torrent, upon pebbles and burning sands, - a very furnace; and if a heavy shower had not fallen opportunely this morning, and I had not received from the mountains a seasonable supply of curdled milk, limes, and a fowl, I know not what would have become of your poor correspondent. But God be praised! the atmosphere is evidently cooler, my appetite is restored, my strength improved; and the first use I make of returning health is to resume my pen. You must now be made acquainted with new marches and fresh troubles.

Yesterday at night, the King left these suffocating quarters. He was accompanied by *Rauchenara-Begum* and the other women of the *Seraglio*, the *Raja Ragnat*, who acts as *Vizier*, and *Fazel-kan*, the High Steward: and last night the grand master of the hunt also left the camp, with some principal officers of the royal household, and several ladies of distinction. To-night it will be our turn to depart: besides my *Navaab Danechmend-kan's* family, the party will consist of *Mahmet-Emir-kan*, son of the celebrated *Emir Jemla*, of whom I have already spoken so much; of my excellent friend *Dianet-kan* and his two sons, and of several other *Omrahs*, *Rajas*, and *Mansebdars*. The other *Nobles* who are to visit *Kachemire* will depart each in his turn, to lessen the inconvenience and confusion that must attend the five days' journey between this place and *Kachemire*, through difficult and mountainous paths. The remainder of the court, such as *Feday-kan*, the Grand Master of the

Artillery, three or four principal *Rajas*, and a large number of *Omrahs*, will continue stationed as guards, in this town and neighbourhood, during three or four months, until the great heat be over, when the King will return. Some will pitch their tents on the banks of the *Tehenau*, others will repair to the adjacent towns and villages, and the rest will be under the necessity of encamping in this burning *Bember*.

That a scarcity of provisions may not be produced in the small kingdom of *Kachemire*, the King will be followed by a very limited number of individuals. Of females he takes only ladies of the first rank, the intimate friends of *Rauchenara-Begum*, and those women whose services cannot easily be dispensed with. The *Omrahs* and military will also be as few as possible; and those *Lords* who have permission to attend the Monarch will be accompanied by no more than twenty-five troopers out of every hundred; not, however, to the exclusion of the immediate officers of their household. These regulations cannot be evaded, an *Omrah* being stationed at the pass of the mountains, who reckons every person one by one, and effectually prevents the ingress of that multitude of *Mansebdars* and other cavaliers who are eager to inhale the pure and refreshing air of *Kachemire*, as well as of all those petty tradesmen and inmates of the *bazars*, whose only object is to gain a livelihood.

The King has a few of the choicest elephants for his baggage and the women of the *Seraglio*. Though heavy and unwieldy, these animals are yet very sure-footed, feeling their way when the road is difficult and dangerous, and assuring themselves of the firm hold of one foot before they move another. The King has also a few mules; but his camels, which would be more useful, are all left behind, the mountains being too steep and craggy for their long stiff legs. Porters supply the place of camels; and you may judge of the immense number that will be employed if what they tell me be true, that the King alone has no fewer than six thousand. I must myself have three, although I left my large tent and a considerable quantity of luggage at *Lahor*; every person did the same, not excepting the *Omrahs* and the King himself; and yet it is calculated that there are at least fifteen thousand porters already collected in *Bember*; some sent by the Governor of *Kachemire* and by the neighbouring *Rajas*, and others who are come voluntarily in the expectation of earning a little money. A royal ordinance fixes their pay at ten crowns for every hundred pounds weight. It is computed

that thirty thousand will be employed; an enormous number, when it is considered that the King and *Omrahs* have been sending forward baggage, and the tradespeople articles of every sort, for the last month.

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Letter written in Kashmere, the Terrestrial Paradise of the Indies, after a residence there of three months.

An accurate description of the Kingdom of Kachemire, the present state of the surrounding Mountains, and replies to five important questions put by a Friend.

Monsieur,

The histories of the ancient Kings of *Kachemire* maintain that the whole of this country was in former times one vast lake, and that an outlet for the waters was opened by a certain pîre, or aged saint, named *Kacheb*, who miraculously cut the mountain of *Baramoule*. This account is to be met with in the abridgement of the above-mentioned histories, made by order of *Jehan-Guyre*, which I am now translating from the *Persian*. I am certainly not disposed to deny that this region was once covered with water: the same thing is reported of *Thessaly* and of other countries; but I cannot easily persuade myself that the opening in question was the work of man, for the mountain is very extensive and very lofty. I rather imagine that the mountain sank into some subterraneous cavern, which was disclosed by a violent earthquake, not uncommon in these countries. If we are to believe the Arabs of those parts, the opening of *Bah-el-mandel* was effected in the same manner; and it is thus that entire towns and mountains have been engulfed in great lakes.

Kachemire, however, is no longer a lake, but a beautiful country, diversified with a great many low hills: about thirty leagues in length, and from ten to twelve in breadth. It is situated at the extremity of *Hindoustan*, to the north of *Lahor*; enclosed by the

mountains at the foot of *Caucasus*, those of the Kings of *Great Tibet* and *Little Tibet*, and of the *Raja Camon*, who are its most immediate neighbours.

The first mountains which surround it, I mean those nearest to the plains, are of moderate height, of the freshest verdure, decked with trees and covered with pasture land, on which cows, sheep, goats, horses, and every kind of cattle is seen to graze. Game of various species is in great plenty, - partridges, hares, antelopes, and those animals which yield musk. Bees are also in vast abundance; and what may be considered very extraordinary in the *Indies*, there are, with few or no exceptions; neither serpents, tigers, bears, nor lions. These mountains may indeed be characterised not only as innocuous, but as flowing in rich exuberance with milk and honey.

Beyond the mountains just described arise others of very considerable altitude, whose summits, at all times covered with snow, soar above the clouds and ordinary mist, and, like *Mount Olympus*, are constantly bright and serene.

From the sides of all these mountains gush forth innumerable springs and streams of water, which are conducted by means of embanked earthen channels even to the top of the numerous hillocks in the valleys; thereby enabling the inhabitants to irrigate their fields of rice. These waters, after separating into a thousand rivulets and producing a thousand cascades through this charming country, at length collect and form a beautiful river, navigable for vessels as large as are borne on our *Seine*. It winds gently around the kingdom, and passing through the capital, bends its peaceful course toward *Baramoule*, where it finds an outlet between two steep rocks, being then joined by several smaller rivers from the mountains, and dashing over precipices it flows in the direction of *Atek*, and joins the *Indus*.

The numberless streams which issue from the mountains maintain the valley and the hillocks in the most delightful verdure. The whole kingdom wears the appearance of a fertile and highly cultivated garden. Villages and hamlets are frequently seen through the luxuriant foliage. Meadows and vineyards, fields of rice, wheat; hemp, saffron, and many sorts of vegetables, among which are intermingled trenches filled with water, rivulets, canals, and several small lakes, vary the enchanting scene. The whole ground is enamelled with our European flowers and plants, and covered with our *apple, pear, plum, apricot, and walnut trees*, all

bearing fruit in great abundance. The private gardens are full of *melons*, *pateques* or *water melons*, *water parsnips*, *red beet*, *radishes*, most of our potherbs, and others with which we are unacquainted.

The fruit is certainly inferior to our own, nor is it in such variety; but this I am satisfied is not attributable to the soil, but merely to the comparative ignorance of the gardeners, for they do not understand the culture and the grafting of trees as we do in *France*. I have eaten, however, a great deal of very excellent fruit during my residence in *Kachemire*, and should entertain no doubt of its arriving at the same degree of perfection as that of *Europe* if the people were more attentive to the planting and soil of the trees and introduced grafts from foreign countries.

The capital of *Kachemire* bears the same name as the kingdom. It is without walls and is not less than three quarters of a league in length, and half a league in breadth. It is situated in a plain, distant about two leagues from the mountains, which seem to describe a semicircle, and is built on the banks of a fresh-water lake, whose circumference is from four to five leagues. This lake is formed of live springs and of streams descending from the mountains, and communicates with the river, which runs through the town, by means of a canal sufficiently large to admit boats. In the town there are two wooden bridges thrown over the river; and the houses, although for the most part of wood, are well built and consist of two or three stories. There is, however, plenty of very fine freestone in the country; some old buildings, and a great number of ancient idol-temples in ruins, are of stone; but wood is preferred on account of its cheapness, and the facility with which it is brought from the mountains by means of so many small rivers. Most of the houses along the banks of the river have little gardens, which produce a very pretty effect, especially in the spring and summer, when many parties of pleasure take place on the water. Indeed most houses in the city have also their gardens; and many have a canal, on which the owner keeps a pleasure-boat, thus communicating with the lake.

At one end of the town appears an isolated hill, with handsome houses on its declivity, each having a garden. Toward the summit are a *Mosque* and *Hermitage*, both good buildings; and the hill is crowned with a large quantity of fine trees. It forms altogether an agreeable object, and from its trees and gardens it is called, in the language of the country, *Haryperbet* or the Verdant Mountain.

Opposite to this hill is seen another, on which is also erected a small *Mosque* with a garden and an extremely ancient building, which bears evident marks of having been a temple for idols, although named *Tact-Souliman*, the Throne of Solomon. The *Mahometans* pretend it was raised by that celebrated King when he visited *Kachemire*; but I doubt whether they could prove that this country was ever honoured with his presence.

The lake is full of islands, which are so many pleasure-grounds. They look beautiful and green in the midst of the water, being covered with fruit trees, and laid out with regular trellised walks. In general they are surrounded by the large-leaved aspen, planted at intervals of two feet. The largest of these trees may be clasped in a man's arms, but they are as high as the mast of a ship, and have only a tuft of branches at the top, like the palm-trees.

The declivities of the mountains beyond the lake are crowded with houses and flower-gardens. The air is healthful, and the situation considered most desirable: they abound with springs and streams of water, and command a delightful view of the lake, the islands, and the town.

The most beautiful of all these gardens is one belonging to the King, called *Chah-limar*. The entrance from the lake is through a spacious canal, bordered with green turf, and running between two rows of poplars. Its length is about five hundred paces, and it leads to a large summer-house placed in the middle of the garden. A second canal, still finer than the first, then conducts you to another summer-house, at the end of the garden. This canal is paved with large blocks of freestone, and its sloping sides are covered with the same. In the middle is a long row of fountains, fifteen paces asunder; besides which there are here and there large circular basins, or reservoirs, out of which arise other fountains, formed into a variety of shapes and figures.

The summer-houses are placed in the midst of the canal, consequently surrounded by water, and between the two rows of large poplars planted on either side. They are built in the form of a dome, and encircled by a gallery, into which four doors open; two looking up, or down, the canal, and two leading to bridges that connect the buildings with both banks. The houses consist of a large room in the centre, and of four smaller apartments, one at each corner. The whole of the interior is painted and gilt, and on the walls of all the chambers are inscribed certain sentences, written

in large and beautiful *Persian* characters. The four doors are extremely valuable; being composed of large stones, and supported by two beautiful pillars. The doors and pillars were found in some of the idol temples demolished by *Chah-Jehan*, and it is impossible to estimate their value. I cannot describe the nature of the stone, but it is far superior to porphyry, or any species of marble.

You have no doubt discovered before this time that I am charmed with *Kachemire*. In truth, the kingdom surpasses in beauty all that my warm imagination had anticipated. It is probably unequalled by any country of the same extent, and should be, as in former ages, the seat of sovereign authority, extending its dominion over all the circumjacent mountains, even as far as *Tartary* and over the whole of *Hindustan*, to the island of *Ceylon*. It is not indeed without reason that the *Moguls* call *Kachemire* the terrestrial paradise of the *Indies*, or that *Ekbar* was so unremitting in his efforts to wrest the sceptre from the hand of its native Princes. His son *Jehan-guyre* became so enamoured of this little kingdom as to make it the place of his favourite abode, and he often declared that he would rather be deprived of every other province of his mighty empire than lose *Kachemire*.

I was quite prepared to witness the emulous contest between the *Kachemiry* and the *Mogol* poets. We were no sooner arrived than *Aureng-Zebe* received from the bards of both nations poems in praise of this favoured land, which he accepted and rewarded with kindness. They were written in a strain of extravagant hyperbole. One of them, I remember, speaking of the surrounding mountains, observed that their extraordinary height had caused the skies to retire into the vaulted form which we see; that Nature had exhausted all her skill in the creation of this country, and rendered it inaccessible to the attack of hostile force; because, being the mistress of the kingdoms of the earth, it was wise to preserve her in perfect peace and security; that she might exercise universal dominion without the possibility of ever being subject to any. The poet went on to say that the summits of the higher and more distant mountains were clothed resplendently in white, and the minor and more contiguous preserved in perpetual verdure and embellished with stately trees, because it was meet that the mistress of the kingdoms of the earth should be crowned with a diadem whose top and rays were diamonds issuing from the base-work of emeralds. 'The poet' (I remarked to my Navaab *Danechmend-kan*,

who wished me to relish these productions) 'might easily have amplified his subject. He could, with a pardonable licence, have included the neighbouring mountainous regions within the kingdom of *Kachemire*, since it is pretended that they were once tributary to it. I mean *Little Tibet*, the states of *Raja Gamon*, *Kachguer*, and *Serenaguer*. He might then have gone on to say that the *Ganges*, the *Indus*, the *Chenau*, and the *Gemna*, issue from the kingdom of *Kachemire*, rivers which cannot yield in beauty and importance to the *Pison*, the *Gihon* or the two other rivers spoken of in *Genesis*; and that it may therefore be reasonably concluded that the Garden of *Eden* was planted in *Kachemire*, and not, according to the received opinion, in *Armenia*.'

The *Kachemirys* are celebrated for wit, and considered much more intelligent and ingenious than the *Indians*. In poetry and the sciences they are not inferior to the *Persians*. They are also very active and industrious. The workmanship and beauty of their *palekys*, bedsteads, trunks, inkstands, boxes, spoons, and various other things are quite remarkable, and articles of their manufacture are in use in every part of the *Indies*. They perfectly understand the art of varnishing, and are eminently skilful in closely imitating the beautiful veins of a certain wood, by inlaying with gold threads so delicately wrought that I never saw anything more elegant or perfect. But what may be considered peculiar to *Kachemire*, and the staple commodity, that which particularly promotes the trade of the country and fills it with wealth, is the prodigious quantity of shawls which they manufacture, and which gives occupation even to the little children. These shawls are about an ell and a half long, and an ell broad, ornamented at both ends with a sort of embroidery, made in the loom, a foot in width. The *Mogols* and *Indians*, women as well as men, wear them in winter round their heads, passing them over the left shoulder as a mantle. There are two sorts manufactured: one kind with the wool of the country, finer and more delicate than that of *Spain*; the other kind with the wool, or rather hair (called *touz*) found on the breast of a species of wild goat which inhabits *Great Tibet*. The *Touz* shawls are much more esteemed than those made with the native wool. I have seen some, made purposely for the *Omrahs*, which cost one hundred and fifty *roupies*; but I cannot learn that the others have ever sold for more than fifty. They are very apt, however, to be worm-eaten, unless frequently unfolded and aired. The fur of the beaver is not

so soft and fine as the hair from these goats.

Great pains have been taken to manufacture similar shawls in *Patna*, *Agra*, and *Lahor*; but notwithstanding every possible care, they never have the delicate texture and softness of the *Kachemire* shawls, whose unrivalled excellence may be owing to certain properties in the water of that country. The superior colours of the *Maslipatam chittes* or cloths, painted by the hand [*peintes au pinceau*], whose freshness seems to improve by washing, are also ascribed to the water peculiar to that town.

The people of *Kachemire* are proverbial for their clear complexions and fine forms. They are as well made as Europeans, and their faces have neither the *Tartar* flat nose nor the small pig-eyes that distinguish the natives of *Kacheguer*, and which generally mark those of *Great Tibet*. The women especially are very handsome; and it is from this country that nearly every individual, when first admitted to the court of the *Great Mogol*, selects wives or concubines, that his children may be whiter than the *Indians* and pass for genuine *Mogols*. Unquestionably there must be beautiful women among the higher classes, if we may judge by those of the lower orders seen in the streets and in the shops. When at *Lahor* I had recourse to a little artifice, often practised by the *Mogols* to obtain a sight of these hidden treasures; the women of that town being the finest brunettes in all the *Indies*, and justly renowned for their fine and slender shapes. I followed the steps of some elephants, particularly one richly harnessed, and was sure to be gratified with the sight I was in search of, because the ladies no sooner hear the tinkling of the silver bells suspended from both sides of the elephant than they all put their heads to the windows. This is a stratagem with which I often amused myself in *Kachemire*, until a more satisfactory method of seeing the fair sex was devised by an old pedagogue, well known in the town, with whom I read the *Persian* poets. I purchased a large quantity of sweetmeats, and accompanied him to more than fifteen houses, to which he had freedom of access. He pretended I was his kinsman lately arrived from *Persia*, rich and eager to marry. As soon as we entered a house, he distributed my sweetmeats among the children, and then everybody was sure to flock around us, the married women and the single girls, young and old, with the two-fold object of being seen and receiving a share of the present. The indulgence of my curiosity drew many *roupies* out of my purse; but it left no doubt on

my mind that there are as handsome faces in *Kachemire* as in any part of *Europe*.

It remains only to speak of my journey through the mountains, from *Bember* to this place, with which I ought perhaps to have commenced my letter; - of the little excursions I have made in the country, and finally of all which it has been in my power to collect concerning the other mountainous tracts that encircle this kingdom.

In respect then to the route from *Bember* I was surprised to find myself on the very first night transported on a sudden from a torrid to a temperate zone: for we had no sooner scaled that frightful wall of the world, I mean the lofty, steep, black, and bare mountain of *Bember*, and begun the descent on the other side, than we breathed a pure, mild, and refreshing air. What surprised me still more was to find myself, as it were, transferred from the *Indies* to *Europe*; the mountains we were traversing being covered with every one of our plants and shrubs, save the hyssop, thyme, marjoram, and rosemary. I almost imagined myself in the mountains of *Auvergne*, in a forest of fir, oak, elm, and plane trees, and could not avoid feeling strongly the contrast between this scene and the burning fields of *Hindoustan*, which I had just quitted and where nothing of the kind is seen.

My attention was particularly arrested by a mountain, distant between one and two days from *Bember*, covered on both sides with plants. The side facing the south, that is, looking toward *Hindoustan*, is full of *Indian* and *European* plants, mingled together; but the side exposed to the north is crowded exclusively with the vegetable productions of *Europe*. It would seem that one side participates equally of the air and temperature of *India* and *Europe*, and that the other feels only the milder climate of the latter quarter of the globe.

I could not avoid admiring, in the course of our march, the successive generation and decay of trees. I saw hundreds plunged and plunging into abysses, down which man never ventured, piled dead one upon another and mouldering with time; while others were shooting out of the ground, and supplying the places of those that were no more. I observed also trees consumed by fire; but I am unable to say whether they were struck by lightning, or ignited by friction, when hot and impetuous winds agitate the trees against each other, or whether, as the natives pretend, trees when grown old and dry may ignite spontaneously.

The magnificent cascades between the rocks increase the beauty of the scene. There is one especially which I conceive has not its parallel. I observed it at a distance from the side of a high mountain. A torrent of water rolling impetuously through a long and gloomy channel, covered with trees, precipitates itself suddenly down a perpendicular rock of prodigious height, and the ear is stunned with the noise occasioned by the falling of these mighty waters. *Jehan-Guyre* erected on an adjacent rock, which was smoothed for the purpose, a large building from which the court might leisurely contemplate this stupendous work of Nature, which, as well as the trees before mentioned, bears marks of the highest antiquity, and is perhaps coeval with the creation of the world.

A strange accident cast a gloom over these scenes and damped all our pleasure. The King was ascending the *Pire-penjale* mountains, the highest of all the mountains, and from which a distant view of the kingdom of *Kachemire* is first obtained. He was followed by a long line of elephants, upon which sat the ladies in their *mikdembers* and *embarys*. The foremost, appalled, as is supposed, by the great length and acclivity of the path before him, stepped back upon the elephant that was moving on his track, who again pushed against the third elephant, the third against the fourth, and so on until fifteen of them, incapable of turning round or extricating themselves in a road so steep and narrow fell down the precipice. Happily for the women, the place where they fell was of no great height; only three or four were killed; but there were no means of saving any of the elephants. Whenever these animals fall under the tremendous burden usually placed upon their backs, they never rise again even on a good road. Two days afterward we passed that way, and I observed that some of the poor elephants still moved their trunks. The army, which had been marching four days in single file through the mountains, was subjected to serious inconvenience by this disaster. The remainder of the day and the following night, were employed in rescuing the women and in saving other matters, and the troops were under the necessity of halting during the whole of that time. Moreover, every man continued pent up in the same spot, for it was impossible, in many places, to advance or recede, and thieving varlets of porters with the tents and provisions were not within reach. My usual good fortune, however, attended me; I contrived to clamber out of the line of march and find a spot whereon I and my horse

slept pretty comfortably. The servant who followed me had a small quantity of bread, which we shared. It was here, I recollect, that in stirring some stones, we found a large black scorpion, which a young *Mogol* of my acquaintance took up and squeezed in his hand, then in the hand of my servant, and lastly in mine, without any of us being stung. This young cavalier pretended that he had charmed the scorpion, as he had charmed many others, with a passage from the *Koran*; 'but I will not,' added he, 'teach you that passage, because the occult power would then depart from me and rest with you, in the same manner as it left my teacher the moment he imparted the secret'.

While traversing this same mountain of *Pire-penjale*, where the elephants tumbled down, three things recalled my old philosophical speculations. The first was that we experienced the opposite seasons of summer and winter within the same hour. In ascending we were exposed to the intense heat of the sun, and perspired most profusely; but when we reached the summit, we found ourselves in the midst of frozen snow, through which a passage for the army had been recently cut; a small and congealed rain was falling, and the wind blew piercingly cold. The poor *Indians*, most of whom had never felt the severity of winter, and saw for the first time ice and snow, were in a state of great suffering and astonishment and fled with precipitation.

The second circumstance was, that within two hundred paces the wind blew from two opposite quarters. While climbing toward the summit it blew in my face, that is, from the north; but I no sooner began to descend on the other side than it blew on my back, that is, from the south; as if the vapours escaping from all sides, and rising to the summit of the mountain, had there condensed, and caused the wind; which, equally attracted by the warm exhausted air below, descended into the two opposite valleys.

The third extraordinary appearance was an aged hermit, who had resided on the top of this mountain ever since the time of *Jehan-Guyre*. Of his religion everybody was ignorant; but it was said that he wrought miracles, caused strange thunders, and raised storms of wind, hail, snow, and rain. His white and uncombed beard was extremely long and bushy; he had somewhat of the savage in his aspect, and was haughty in his manner of asking alms. He permitted the people to drink water out of some earthen cups placed in rows on a large stone, making signs with his hand that

they should not stop, but hastily leave the summit of the mountain. The old man was also very angry with those who made a noise. After I had entered his cave, and softened his countenance by means of half a *roupie*, which I humbly put in his hand, he informed me that the noise made there stirred up the most furious tempests imaginable. It was wise in *Aureng-Zebe*, he added, to be guided by his advice, and to order the army to pass with stillness and expedition. His father, *Chah-Jehan*, always acted with the same prudence; but *Jehan-Guyre* having upon one occasion derided his counsel, and, notwithstanding his earnest remonstrance, having ordered the cymbals to be beaten and the trumpets to be sounded, narrowly escaped destruction.

In regard to my excursions in different parts of this kingdom, I shall begin by informing you that we no sooner arrived in the city of *Kachemire* than my *Navaab*, *Danechmend-kan*, sent me to the further end of the country, three short journeys from the capital, that I might witness the 'wonders,' as they are called, of a certain fountain. I was accompanied by a native, and escorted by one of my *Navaab's* troopers. The 'wonders' consist in this: in the month of May, when the melting of the snows has just taken place, this fountain, during the space of fifteen days, regularly flows and ebbs three times a day, - when the morning dawns, at noon, and at night. Its flow generally continues three quarters of an hour, and is sufficiently abundant to fill a square reservoir ten or twelve feet deep, and as many in length and breadth. After a lapse of fifteen days, the supply of water becomes less copious and regular, and at the expiration of a month the spring ceases to run, unless in the time of heavy and incessant rains, when it runs with the ebb and flow of other fountains. The *Gentiles* have a small temple on the side of the reservoir dedicated to *Brare*, one of their deities; and hence this spring is called *Send-brary*, or water of *Brare*. Pilgrims flock from all parts to this temple, for the purpose of bathing and purifying themselves in the sacred and miraculous water. Numberless fables are founded on the origin of this fountain, which, not having a shadow of truth, would be little entertaining in the recital. The five or six days that I remained in the vicinity of *Send-brary* were employed in endeavours to trace the cause of the 'wonder'. I paid considerable attention to the situation of the mountain, at whose foot is found this supernatural spring. With

much labour and difficulty I reached the top, leaving no part unexplored, searching and prying at every step. I remarked that its length extends from north to south, and that though very near to other mountains, yet it is completely detached from any. Its form resembles an ass's back; the summit is of extreme length, but the greatest breadth is scarcely one hundred paces. One side of the mountain, which is covered with nothing but green grass, has an eastern aspect; but the sun, being intercepted by the opposite mountains, does not shine upon it before eight o'clock in the morning. The western side is covered with trees and bushes.

Having made these observations, it occurred to me that this pretended wonder might be accounted for by the heat of the sun, combined with the peculiar situation and internal disposition of the mountain.

I supposed that the frozen waters, which during the winter, when the whole ground is covered with snow, had penetrated into the inner parts of that portion of the mountain exposed to the morning sun, became partially melted, that these waters running down, little by little, into certain beds of live rock, and being thence conveyed toward the spring, produced the flow at noon; that the sun quitting this part of the mountain (which then becomes cool) darts its vertical beams upon the summit, melting the congealed waters, which descend also by slow degrees, but through different channels, into the same beds of live rock, and are the cause of the flow at night; and finally, that the sun heating the western side of the mountain, similar effects are occasioned, and the morning flow is the consequence. That this last is slower than the others may be accounted for by the remoteness of the western side from the spring, by its being covered with wood, and therefore more sheltered from the sun, or simply by the coldness of the night. My reasoning may derive support from the fact of the water flowing most copiously during the first days, and that having gradually diminished in quantity it ceases to run altogether: as if the water which had remained frozen in the earth were in greater plenty at the commencement than afterwards. It may be observed too, that even at the beginning the supply of water as to the quantity is very uncertain, and that the flow is sometimes greater at noon than at night or in the morning, or in the morning greater than at noon; because, as I conceive, some days are hotter than others, and because clouds, sometimes rendered the heat unequal, thus become

the cause of inequality in the flow of water.

Returning from *Send-brary*, I turned a little from the high road for the sake of visiting *Achiavel*, a country house formerly of the Kings of *Kachemire* and now of the *Great Mogol*. What principally constitutes the beauty of this place is a fountain, whose waters disperse themselves into a hundred canals round the house, which is no means unseemly, and throughout the gardens. The spring gushes out of the earth with violence, as if it issued from the bottom of some well, and the water is so abundant that it ought rather to be called a river than a fountain. It is excellent water, and cold as ice. The garden is very handsome, laid out in regular walks, and full of fruit-trees, - apple, pear, plum, apricot, and cherry. Jets-d'eau in various forms and fish-ponds are in great number, and there is a lofty cascade which in its fall takes the form and colour of a large sheet, thirty or forty paces in length, producing the finest effect imaginable; especially at night, when innumerable lamps, fixed in parts of the wall adapted for that purpose, are lighted under this sheet of water.

From *Achiavel* I proceeded to another royal garden embellished much in the same manner. One of its ponds contains fish so tame that they approach upon being called, or when pieces of bread are thrown into the water. The largest have gold rings, with inscriptions, through the gilis, placed there, it is said, by the celebrated *Nour-Mehalle*, the wife of *Jehan-Guyre*, grandfather of *Aureng-Zebe*.

Danechmend-kan seemed well satisfied with the account I brought of *Send-brary*, and wished me to undertake another journey, that I might bear my testimony to what he called a *real miracle* [miracle assuré], such a miracle as would induce me to renounce my religion and become a *Musulman*. 'Hasten to *Baramoulay*,' said he; 'the distance is not greater than to *Send-brary*: there you will see a *Mosque* which contains the tomb of a celebrated *Pire*, or Holy *Derviche*, who though dead yet miraculously cures the sick and infirm. Perhaps you may deny the reality either of the disease or of the cure; but another miracle is wrought by the power of this holy man, which no person can see without acknowledging. There is a large round stone that the strongest man can scarcely raise from the ground, but which eleven men, after a prayer made to the saint, lift up with the tips of their eleven fingers with the same ease as they would move a piece of

straw.' I was not sorry for another little excursion, and set out with both my former companions, the trooper and the native of the country. I found *Baramoulay* a rather pleasant place; the *Mosque* is a tolerable building and the *Saint's* tomb is richly adorned. It was surrounded with a great number of people, engaged in acts of devotion, who said they were ill. Adjoining the *Mosque* is a kitchen, wherein I observed large boilers filled with meat and rice, which I conceived at once to be the magnet that draws the sick, and the miracle that cures them. On the other side of the mosque are the apartments and garden of the *Mullahs*, who pursue the even tenor of their way under the shadow of the *Pire's* miraculous sanctity. They are sufficiently zealous in celebrating his praises, but as I am always unhappy on similar occasions, he performed no miracle upon the sick while I remained there. As to the round and heavy stone that was to convert me, I noticed that eleven *Mullahs* formed themselves into a circle round it, but what with their long *cabayes*, or vests, and the studied compactness of the circle, I had great difficulty to see the mode in which they held the stone. I watched narrowly, however, the whole of this cheating process, and although the *Mullahs* stoutly maintained that each person used only the tip of one finger, and that the stone felt as light as a feather, yet I could clearly discover that it was not raised from the ground without a great effort, and it seemed to me that the *Mullahs* made use of the thumb as well as of the fore-finger. Still I mixed my voice with the cries of these impostors and bystanders, exclaiming *Karamet! Karamet!* - a miracle! a miracle! I then presented them with a *roupie*, and assuming a look of the deepest devotion, entreated that I might have for once the distinguished honour of being among the eleven who lifted the stone. The *Mullahs* were reluctant to comply with my request, but having presented them with a second *roupie*, and expressed my belief in the truth of the miracle, one of them gave up his place to me. No doubt they hoped that ten would be able, by an extraordinary effort, to lift the stone, although I contributed no other aid than the tip of my finger, and they expected to manage so adroitly that I should not discover the imposture. But they were much mortified to find that the stone, to which I persevered in applying the end of my finger only, was constantly inclining and falling towards me. I considered it prudent at last to hold it firmly with both my finger and thumb, when we succeeded, but with great difficulty, in raising it to the

usual height. Observing that every person looked at me with an evil eye, not knowing what to think of me, and that I incurred the danger of being stoned, I continued to join in the cry of *Karamet!* and throwing down a third *roupie*, stole away from the crowd. Though I had taken no refreshment since my arrival, I did not hesitate to mount my horse directly, and to quit for ever the *Derviche* and his miracles. I availed myself of this opportunity to visit those celebrated rocks that form the outlet of all the waters of the kingdom, and to which I alluded at the commencement of this letter.

I was induced to quit the high road for the sake of approaching a large lake that I saw at some distance. It is well stocked with fish, particularly eels, and covered with ducks, wild geese, and many other water-birds. The Governor comes hither in the winter, when these birds are in greatest plenty, to enjoy the sport of fowling. In the centre of the lake is an hermitage, with its little garden, which it is pretended floats miraculously upon the water. The hermit passes the whole of his life there; he never leaves the place. I shall not fill up this letter by recounting the thousand absurd tales reported of this hermitage, except it be the tradition that one of the ancient Kings of *Kachemire*, out of mere fancy, built it upon a number of thick beams fastened together. The river which runs toward *Baramoulay* passes through the middle of this lake.

Leaving this lake, I went in search of a spring, considered an object of curiosity. It bubbles gently and rises with some force, bringing with it a certain quantity of very fine sand, which returns the way it came; after which the water becomes still a moment or two without ebullition and without bringing up sand, and then bubbles as before, and with the same effect; thus continuing its motion at irregular intervals. But the wonder, they say, consists in this, that the least noise made, either by speaking or knocking the feet against the ground, agitates the water and causes it to run and bubble in the manner described. I discovered, however, that its movements are influenced neither by speaking nor knocking, and that its action is the same whether you make a noise or are silent. As to the real cause of the water rising in this manner, I have not reflected sufficiently upon the subject to give you a satisfactory solution; unless it be that the sand by returning continues to obstruct the narrow channel of this small and weak spring, until the water thus opposed and closed in makes an effort to raise the sand

and open a passage; or it may rather be, that the wind pent in the channel of the spring rises at intervals, as is the case in artificial springs.

When we had sufficiently examined this fountain, we ascended the mountains, for the purpose of seeing an extensive lake, in which there is ice, even in summer, which the winds heap up and disperse, as in a frozen sea. We then passed through a place called *Sengsafed*, that is to say, Whitestone, remarkable for producing in summer every kind of flower, the same as in a well-stored garden; and for a circumstance said to have been observed from time immemorial, that when many persons visit this spot and make much noise and agitate the air, a heavy shower of rain invariably descends. Whether this be generally the case or not, there can be no doubt that a few years ago, when *Sengsafed* was visited by *Chah-Jehan*, the whole party was in danger of perishing in consequence of the violent and extraordinary rains which fell, although he had issued orders that no unnecessary noise should be made. This fact will remind you of the aged hermit's conversation with me on the summit of *Pire-penjal*.

I was pursuing my journey to a grotto full of wonderful congelations, two days' journey from *Sengsafed*, when I received intelligence that my *Navaab* felt very impatient and uneasy on account of my long absence.

I regret that I can give you only imperfect and scanty information concerning the surrounding mountains. The subject has much occupied my thoughts since my arrival in this country; but I can meet with no congenial mind, with no person of observation and research, who possesses much knowledge of the matters about which I wish to be informed. What I have learnt I shall, however, communicate.

The merchants who every year travel from mountain to mountain to collect the fine wool with which shawls are manufactured, all agree in saying that between all the mountains still dependent upon *Kachemire* there are many fine stretches of country. Among these tracts there is one whose annual tribute is paid in leather and wool, and whose women are proverbial for beauty, chastity, and industry. Beyond this tract is another whose valleys are delightful and plains fertile, abounding in corn, rice, apples, pears, apricots, excellent melons, and even grapes, with which good wine is made. The tribute of this tract is likewise paid

in wool and leather, and it sometimes happens that the inhabitants, trusting to the inaccessible nature of the country, refuse payment; but troops always contrive to penetrate, and reduce the people to submission. I learn also from the merchants, that in the more distant mountains, which have ceased to be tributary to *Kachemire*, there are other beautiful tracts and countries, where the inhabitants are white and well-formed, and remarkable for their attachment to their native land, which they seldom quit. Some of these people have no King, nor even, as far as can be discovered, any religion; though certain tribes abstain from fish, and consider it unclean.

I shall add what was related to me a few days ago by a fine old fellow, who married a descendant of the ancient kings of *Kachemire*. At the period when *Jehan-Guyre* was making a diligent search after all persons connected with the royal family, this old man effected his escape to the mountains last mentioned, accompanied by three domestics, scarcely knowing whither he was going. Wandering from place to place, he found himself at length in the midst of a small but beautiful district, where he was no sooner known than he experienced a cordial reception. The happy man was laden with presents, and in the evening the handsomest girls were presented by their parents, and he was entreated to make his choice from them, that the country might be honoured with his offspring. My friend proceeded to another district in the vicinity and was received with equal kindness and respect: the evening ceremony was different, however, in one particular; as the husbands brought their wives, not the fathers their daughters; observing that their neighbours were simpletons in having supplied him with the latter, because the children might not continue in their household, but must follow the footsteps of the daughters' future husbands.

Some few years since there existed great dissensions in the royal family of *Little Tibet*, a country bordering on *Kachemire*. One of the pretenders to the crown having applied secretly to the Governor of this kingdom for assistance, the latter was commanded by *Chah Jehan* to afford all the succour he might need. The Governor accordingly invaded *Little Tibet*, slew or put to flight the other competitors, and left this prince in undisputed possession of the throne, subject to an annual tribute of crystal, musk, and wool. Thus circumstanced, this petty King has not well been able to avoid paying his personal obeisance to *Aureng-Zebe*, bringing with him some of these articles as presents; but he is come with so wretched

a retinue that I should never have taken him for a person of distinguished rank. My *Navaab* invited this personage to dinner, hoping to obtain the information concerning those mountainous regions. He informed us that his kingdom was bounded on the east by *Great Tibet*; that it was thirty or forty leagues in breadth; that he was very poor, notwithstanding the crystal, musk, and wool, which he had in small quantities; and that the opinion generally entertained of his possessing gold mines was quite erroneous.

"The country, in certain parts," he added, "produces excellent fruit, particularly melons, but the winters are most severe, because of the deep snows." The inhabitants heretofore were *Gentiles*, but the great majority have become *Mahomdan*, as well as himself; of the sect of the *Chias*, which is that of all *Persia*.

He spoke also of the attempt made by *Chah-Jehan*, seventeen or eighteen years ago, to conquer *Great Tibet*, a country frequently invaded by the Kings of *Kachemire*. The army, after a difficult march of sixteen days through the mountains, besieged and took a fortress, which threw the inhabitants into such consternation that the conquest of the kingdom would no doubt have been completed if the army had immediately crossed a certain celebrated and rapid river, and marched boldly to the capital city. The season, however, was advanced, and the governor of *Kachemire*, who commanded the troops, apprehending he might be overtaken by the snow, determined to retreat. He placed a garrison in the fortress just captured, intending to resume the invasion of the country early in the spring; but that garrison most strangely and unexpectedly evacuated the castle, either through fear of the enemy, or from want of provisions, and *Great Tibet* escaped the meditated attack that had been deferred to the next spring. That kingdom being threatened with war by *Aureng-Zebe*, the King despatched an ambassador when informed of the *Mogol's* arrival in *Kachemire*. The embassy was accompanied by various presents, the productions of the country; such as crystal, musk, a piece of jade, and those valuable white tails taken from a species of cow peculiar to *Great Tibet*, which are attached by way of ornament to the ears of elephants. The jade stone presented upon this occasion was of an extraordinary size, and therefore very precious. *Jachen* is in great estimation in the court of the *Mogol*: its colour is greenish, with white veins, and it is so hard as to be wrought only with diamond powder. Cups and vases are made of this stone. I have some of

most exquisite workmanship, inlaid with strings of gold, and enriched with precious stones. The ambassador's train consisted of three or four *cavaliers*, and ten or twelve tall men, dried-up looking and lean, with very scanty beards like the *Chinese*, and common red caps, such as our seamen wear. The remainder of the apparel was worthy of their head-gear. I rather think that four or five of these gentlemen wore swords, but the others followed the ambassador without staves or sticks. He entered into a negotiation with *Aureng-Zebe*, and promised on the part of his master that a *mosque* should be built in the capital, wherein prayers in the *Muhamadan* form should be offered; that the coin should bear on one side the impress of *Aureng-Zebe*; and that the *Mogol* should receive an annual tribute. But no person doubts that this treaty will be totally disregarded as soon as *Aureng-Zebe* has quitted *Kachemire*, and that the King of *Great Tibet* will no more fulfil its stipulations than he did those of the treaty concluded between him and *Chah-Jehan*.

There was in the suite of the ambassador a physician, said to be from the kingdom of *Lassa*, and of the *Lamy* or *Lama* tribe; a tribe which is the depositary of the law in *Lassa* as that of the *Brehmens* is in the *Indies*, with this difference, that the *Brehmens* of the *Indies* have no *Calife* or *Pontiff*, which these people have, who is not only recognised as such in the kingdom of *Lassa*, but throughout all *Tartary*, and is honoured and revered as a divine personage. The physician had a book of receipts which I could not persuade him to sell; the writing at a distance looked something like ours. We induced him to write down the alphabet, but he did this with so much difficulty, and his writing was so wretchedly bad in comparison with that in his book, that we pronounced him an ignoramus. He was an ardent believer in metempsychosis, and entertained us with wonderful tales. Among others, he mentioned that when his *Grand Lama* was very old and on the point of death, he assembled the council, and declared to them that his soul was going to pass into the body of an infant recently born. The child was nourished with tender care; and when he had attained his sixth or seventh year, a large quantity of household furniture and wearing apparel was placed before him, mixed up with his own, and he had the sagacity to discern which part was his own property, and which was not; a decisive proof, the physician observed, how true is the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. At first I thought the man was speaking in irony, but I soon discovered that he was

perfectly serious. One day I went to see him at the ambassador's, taking a *Kachemirian* merchant acquainted with the language of *Tibet* with me as an interpreter, on the pretence that I desired to purchase certain stuffs which he had for sale, a species of felt about a foot wide; but the real object of the visit was to obtain information concerning those imperfectly known regions. But I learnt little or nothing new: he only said generally that *Great Tibet* would bear no comparison with his own country; that the latter was covered with snow more than five months in the year, and that it was frequently engaged in war with the *Tartars*; but which *Tartars* these were he could not say. At length I found that the time passed with this man was misspent, for he was incapable of answering any one of the numerous questions I intended to ask.

The following which I now relate is such a well-established fact that no one here doubts it, namely that it is not twenty years since caravans went annually from *Kachemire* to *Katay*. They used to traverse the mountains of *Great Tibet*, enter *Tartary*, and reach *Katay* in about three months. It is an extremely difficult road, and there are impetuous torrents that can be crossed only by means of cords extended from rock to rock. The caravans returned with *musk*, *China-wood* [bois de Chine], *rhubarb* and *mamiron*, a small root in great repute for the cure of bad eyes; and in returning through *Great Tibet* they further loaded themselves with the produce of that country, such as *musk*, *crystal*, *jade*, and especially with a quantity of very fine wool of two kinds, the first from the sheep of that country, and the latter which is known by the name of *touz*, and resembles, as already observed, the beaver, and should rather be called hair than wool. But since *Chah-Jehan's* irruption into *Great Tibet*, the King has not only interdicted the passage of caravans, but forbidden any person from *Kachemire* to enter his dominions. This is the reason why the caravans now take their departure from *Patna* on the *Ganges* so as to avoid his territories: they leave *Great Tibet* on the left and proceed directly to the kingdom of slaves, *Lassa*.

In regard to the kingdom known here by the name of *Kacheguer*, which is in my opinion the same as our maps call *Kascar*, I shall relate all the information I have collected from merchants, natives of that country, who when they heard that *Aureng-Zebe* intended to visit *Kachemire*, brought into this kingdom for sale a great number of young slaves, girls and boys.

They say that *Kacheguer* lies to the east of *Kachemire* inclining somewhat to the northward; that the shortest route from one kingdom to the other is through *Great Tibet*, but, that passage being now shut, they were under the necessity of taking the road of *Little Tibet*. The first town they passed in returning was *Gourtche*, the last town dependent upon *Kachemire*, and four days' journey from the city of *Kachemire*: from *Gourtche*, they were eight days in reaching *Esgerdou*, the capital of *Little Tibet*; and in two days more they came to a small town called *Cheker*, also within the territory of *Little Tibet*, and situated on a river celebrated for its medicinal waters. In fifteen days they came to a large forest, on the confines of *Little Tibet*, and in fifteen days more they arrived at *Kacheguer*, a small town which was formerly the royal residence, though now the King of *Kacheguer* resides at *Jourkend*, a little more to the north, and ten days' journey from *Kacheguer*. These merchants added that the distance from the town of *Kacheguer* to *Katay* is not more than a two months' voyage; that caravans go thither every year, which return laden with the articles I have enumerated, and proceed to *Persia* by way of *Usbek*; as there are others that go from *Katay* to *Pana*, in *Hindustan*. They also informed me that the way from *Kacheguer* to *Katay* is through a small town, eight days' journey from *Coten*, and that *Coten* is the last town on that side in the kingdom of *Kacheguer*. The road from *Kachemire* to *Kacheguer*, they said, is extremely bad, and among other difficult paths, there is the place where, in every season, you must go a quarter of a league over ice. This is all the information I could collect concerning these regions; it is certainly confused and scanty, but after all will be found tolerably complete considering the ignorance of these people, seldom able to give reasons for anything, and that I had also to deal with interpreters who experienced the utmost difficulty both in clearly stating my interrogatories, and in explaining satisfactorily the answers.

Here I intended to close this letter, or rather this book, and take my leave of you until our return to *Dehli*; but my inclination for writing is still strong, and I enjoy some leisure. I shall endeavour, therefore, to answer the five questions which you put to me in your last letter, on behalf of the industrious and inquisitive *Monsieur Thevenot*, who makes greater and more important discoveries in his study than others who circumnavigate the globe. His first inquiry is, whether it be true that Jews have for a long

period resided in the kingdom of *Kachemire*: whether they be in possession of the Holy Scriptures, and, if so, whether there be any discrepancy between their Old Testament and our own.

The second request is, that I should communicate whatever observations I may have made concerning the *Moisson*, or *Season* of the periodical rains in the *Indies*.

The third, that I make him acquainted with my remarks and opinions upon the singular regularity of the winds and currents in the seas of the *Indies*.

The fourth, whether the kingdom of *Bengale* be as fertile, rich, and beautiful as is commonly reported.

The fifth, that I give a decisive opinion on the old controversies as to the causes of the *Nile's* increase.

Answer to the first Inquiry, concerning the Jews.

I would be as much pleased as *Monsieur Thevenot* himself if *Jews* were found in these mountainous regions; I mean such *Jews* as he would no doubt desire to find, - *Jews* descended from the tribes transported by *Shalmaneser*: but you may assure that gentleman that although there seems ground for believing that some of them were formerly settled in these countries, yet the whole population is at present either *Gentile* or *Muhammadan*. In *China*, indeed, there are probably people of that nation, for I have lately seen letters in the hands of our reverend Father the Jesuit of *Dehli*, written by a *German* Jesuit from *Pekin*, wherein he states that he had conversed with *Jews* in that city, who adhered to the forms of *Judaism* and retained the books of the Old Testament. • They were totally ignorant of the death of JESUS CHRIST and had expressed a wish to appoint the *Jesuit* their *Kakan* if he would abstain from swine's flesh.

There are, however, many signs of *Judaism* to be found in this country. On entering the kingdom after crossing the *Pire-penjale* mountains, the inhabitants in the frontier villages struck me as resembling *Jews*. Their countenance and manner, and that indescribable peculiarity which enables a traveller to distinguish the inhabitants of different nations, all seemed to belong to that ancient people. You are not to ascribe what I say to mere fancy, the *Jewish* appearance of these villagers having been remarked by our *Jesuit* Father, and by several other *Europeans*, long before I visited *Kachemire*.

A second sign is the prevalence of the name of *Mousa*, which

means *Moses*, among the inhabitants of this city, notwithstanding they are all *Muhammadans*.

A third is the common tradition that *Solomon* visited this country, and that it was he who opened a passage for the waters by cutting the mountain of *Baramoule*.

A fourth, the belief that *Moses* died in the city of *Kachemire*, and that his tomb is within a league of it.

And a fifth may be found in the generally received opinion that the small and extremely ancient edifice seen on one of the high hills was built by *Solomon*; and it is therefore called the *Throne of Solomon* to this day.

You will see then, that I am not disposed to deny that Jews may have taken up their residence in *Kachemire*. The purity of their law, after a lapse of ages, may have been corrupted, until, having long degenerated into idolatry, they were induced, like many other pagans, to adopt the creed of *Muhammad*.

It is certain that many *Jews* are settled in *Persia*, at *Lar* and *Hyspan*; and in *Hindoustan*, towards *Goa* and *Cochin*. I also learn that in *Ethiopia*, where they are very numerous, these people are remarkable for courage and military prowess; and if I am to believe two ambassadors from the *Ethiopian* King, lately, at this court, there was a *Jew*, fifteen or sixteen years ago, grown so formidable, that he endeavoured to erect an independent kingdom in a certain small and mountainous district difficult of access.

Francois Bernier: *Travels in the Mughal Empire*

CHAPTER XVI

F A U N A

The Valley of Kashmir offers great attractions to sportsmen, and, for its size, possesses a large and varied animal kingdom. Facilities of communication, and a rapid increase in the number of visitors who come to the valley for the purposes of sport, have had their natural result, and those who wish to make large bags must seek the distant corners of His Highness the Maharaja's territories. In 1890, the diminution in the big game of Kashmir, led the State to re-introduce rules for the preservation of barasingh, ibex, and musk deer, which had fallen into abeyance after the death of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, and it is believed that these rules have already had a beneficial effect. The State maintains a few preserves, in which the public are not allowed to shoot without permission, and these preserves may have tended to retard the rapid extinction of game. But the chief cause of the diminution of game, may be traced to the wholesale slaughter of hinds in the winter. When the snow lies deep, the hinds, in their stress, would approach the villages, in the hope of finding food, and the Kashmiri, in his greed for venison, would cut their throats with little scruple. Europeans, who ought to have known better, have occasionally disgraced themselves by stag-driving in the snow, and one case was reported, a few years ago, when a person killed fourteen stags, which were driven through the deep snow, past the chair on which he was comfortably seated. Driving is now prohibited, and there is every hope that the splendid stags of Kashmir will be saved from extermination. The musk deer were harried by natives and others, for the sake of their valuable musk bags, and were usually driven and caught in nets. They, too, will be protected by the rules recently framed by the Kashmir State. But, though the State is anxious to co-operate in the interests of game preservation, and recognizes that it is the sport of Kashmir which chiefly attracts the European visitors whom His Highness the Maharaja welcomes so hospitably, I do not think that game preservation will be placed on a satisfactory basis until an

association is formed for the purpose of controlling sport in Kashmir. If some association were formed, a healthy public opinion would be created, which would soon check wholesale slaughter of game, and all unsportsmanlike behaviour. The question is of considerable importance, as Kashmir and its neighbouring mountains have afforded health and excitement to British officers serving in India, and it would be a matter of serious regret if game were exterminated by the selfish and ignorant conduct of the 'fin de siècle' sportsman, and if the grand stalking of the Kashmir mountains, so congenial a relaxation to the soldier, became a thing of the past.

The same remarks apply equally to the chikor (partridge), and the natives always quote the year in which a wholesale destroyer of chikor visited Kashmir, as the time from which they became scarce. It is, however, fair to add that, as in the case of big game, so in the case of chikor, the native shikari and the poaching herdsmen from Poonch are to blame for the diminution in sport. In the winter, the chikor are driven on to the soft snow, and caught in blankets, and a common practice is to attract the birds by spreading grain, and then firing into the middle of them, killing some and wounding many. It would be well, however, if shooting commenced on September 1. At present, sportsmen begin about August 12 or 15, when the birds are in the ripening corn. The hen bird gets up, and is shot: the cheepers hide and temporarily escape. But they cannot take care of themselves, and fall an easy prey to foxes. In sport, as in other affairs, posterity should be considered. Game preservation may be regarded from another point of view, and, from this point of view, too, it is most important that the extermination of stags and other animals should be prevented. At present, the forests of Kashmir and the neighbouring countries bring no revenue to the State, so far as game is concerned. But, as time goes on, and as improved communications bring Kashmir nearer to India and Europe, it is possible that a 'nullah' in Kashmir will command a rent, as readily as a moor in Scotland. At present, nothing could be further from the mind of the ruler of Kashmir, and his one idea is that Europeans should enjoy themselves as cheaply and as freely as possible, while they are in his country. But the increased number of sportsmen and the decreased stock of game may reduce the happy hunting-grounds of Kashmir to the business level of 'a shooting to let'. It should, however, be noticed that a 'nullah',

under existing circumstances, would not be a very safe or satisfactory investment, as the goatherd drives his flocks all over the glens where the stags want to summer, and it is said by careful observers that the barasingh is working towards Kishtwar, Badrawar, and even to distant Chamba. If an association, for the preservation of game and the regulation of sport in Kashmir, were formed, something might be done towards bringing the shikaris under control. At present, the old and experienced shikaris are being shouldered out by young impostors, who obtain service by feeing the native agents and bankers in Srinagar. Any man, now, who dons pattis and wears a waistband, can borrow a bundle of certificates, and obtain service as a shikari. These new-fashioned shikaris are a plague to the country. They rob their masters, and rob the villagers, to whom they rarely pay anything for supplies. It is a mere chance if they show their employer sport. I have discussed this question with shikaris, European and native, and all are agreed that shikaris should be passed by a committee and registered. As regards the preservation of game, nothing can be simpler, for every Kashmiri will give information regarding his neighbour. The sight of a fellow-villager enjoying a feast of venison, would send off the rest in hot haste to give intelligence to the police. The cost of such an association would not be heavy, and a large income might be made by the State, if a battue of musk deer were allowed every three years, the musk pods being sold.

I give, below, a list of the mammals of Kashmir. As elsewhere in this report, Kashmir includes only the main valley, and the side valleys draining into the Jhelum river above Baramula. For the notes in inverted commas I am indebted to Colonel A. Ward, a well-known authority on Kashmir and mountain sport.

Order PRIMATIS

Genus *Macacus*

1. "The Bengal Monkey, *Inuus rhesus* (Blyth and Jerdon), *Macacus rhesus* (Kashmiri, Ponz), ascends to an elevation of 8,000 to 9,000 feet, but is more frequently met with at about 6,000 feet and under. Blandford gives *wāndar* as the Kashmiri for this monkey, but most of the shikaris call the langur by that name."

The *Ponzi* is very common in the north-west of the valley, where great damage is caused to the crops by the troops of monkeys. They are quite fearless.

2. "The Himalayan Langur, *Semnopithecus Schistaceus* (*Langur*). Probably this monkey never descends even in the outer Himalayas below 6,000 feet, unless by stress of weather it is forced to do so. It differs little from *Entellus*, and by many is considered only a variety. I have seen large numbers of the Himalayan langur in the Sind, Liddar, and in Dandwar during the winter."

The langurs which I have seen in the Sind valley are of a brighter and more reddish colour than the langurs which are seen in Simla. The natives always speak of them as *wāndar*, and tell tales of their ferocity, often stating that two or more will attack a solitary man.

Order CARNIVORA

family FELIDAE

1. *Felis pardus* (*Suh*, Kashmiri), the Leopard. It is seldom that the leopard takes to man-eating in these hills, but two instances have occurred within my knowledge: one, a most determined brute, killed many people in the Liddar, and the second was in the Sind.

2. *Felis uncia*, the Ounce or Snow Leopard. The Kashmiris call it the Safed Chetah. *Sah* is a name given by some.

The Ounce is rare in the territory to which these remarks are confined. In Brariangan, and high up the Sind, are the only places I actually know of its occurrence, but a skin was brought to me in Lidarwat; this specimen was said to have been shot near Tar-Sar.

It now and again kills sheep, but is not nearly so destructive as the leopard. A couple of ounces frequent the hills above Narastan and evidently hunt the few ibexes that are left in Brariangan.

The male measures about 4 feet and has a tail 3 feet long.

Felis bengalensis is represented by a variety, the *F. partichra* of Hodgson. I have only seen one or two specimens, and most of the

skins sold in Srinagar do not come from Kashmir proper.

"The Jungle Cat, *Felis chaus*, is found in the valley, and the skins are sold in Srinagar; it varies greatly in size, weighs from 12 lbs. to 18 lbs.

"The Waved Cat, *Felix torquata*. The only specimen I know of was found by Sir. O. St. John. The colouring is greyish-brown above, and buff below, but Blandford tells us it is variable."

Family VIVERRIDAE

The small Indian Mongoose, *Herpestes auropunctatus* (Nul, Kashmiri). Common in the main valley.

Family CANIDAE

The Wolf, *Canis Lupus*. Colonel Ward has never seen a wolf in Kashmir, but believes that wolves are found.¹ Several Englishmen have told me that they have met with wolves, and the shepherds have often described to me an animal answering to the wolf and known to the Kashmiris as *Rama hun*. They are rare, but they cause great loss when they attack flocks of sheep on the mountain sides.

Canis laniger is common in Tibet and Ladakh. It is most likely a variety of *C. lupus*. A black variety is not rare.

"Jackal, *Canis aureus* (*Shal*, Kashmiri). Common in Kashmir; very large specimens are met with and many sheep are killed by these animals. I have had sheep killed at Gandar-bal, Shadipur, and Bij Bihara, also at Kotsoo (Liddar).

Wild dog (*Cuon rutilans*, of Blyth and Jerdon), *Cyon dukhunensis* (*Ram-hun*, Kashmiri). I have seen one near the hop-garden, others in Hammel, and have little doubt that they are in most of the western valleys. They are common in more distant

Colonel Unwin writes: "I saw a fine wolf (*Canis pallipes*) at the foot of the hills near Pandrātan in February, 1887. About a foot of snow was lying, and he had killed a sheep within a hundred yards of a hamlet in open day. I fired three long shots at him, all misses. The villagers thought it was a leopard, but the tracks in the snow, and a good view through my telescope at 400 yards, showed him to be an undoubted wolf."

nullahs.

The ordinary weight is from 25 lbs. to 30 lbs. I have known a single one kill a sheep, and rode after it a short distance, but was soon pulled up by ravines.

"The Common Fox (*Vulpes montana*, Blyth). *V. montana* is a variety of *V. alopec*. Foxes are now scarcer in Kashmir than they were a few years ago. They are the most inveterate poachers and destroy large numbers of chikor. Length of body, 24in.; tail with hair, 19in."

The fox is known to the Kashmiris as *Loh*. It has a fine skin and carries a good brush. It eats fruits, berries, birds, and small animals.

Order ARCTOIDEA

Family MUSTELIDAE

"The Indian Marten, *Mustela flavigula* (Gran). The pine-marten is very active and a great tree-climber; it is very destructive. I have seen them hunting musk-deer, once in the Kaj-Nag and another time in Garhwal.

"The Beech Marten (*Mustela foina*). I have not actually seen this marten in Kashmir, but have seen skins which were said to have been obtained in Kashmir. It is widely distributed and is found in Ladakh, Baltistan, Kumaon, etc.; there is no reason to suppose it is not found in the immediate neighbourhood of the "Vale".

"The White-nosed Weasel (*Puterius canigula*). I have obtained it in the Musjid nullah above Aroo, and seen other specimens."

Sub-Family LUTRINAE

"The Otter (*Lutra vulgaris*). The skin is highly prized, and prices in the bazár are more than double those of Mussorree; not often seen, but the tracks are fairly plentiful in some places. The otter is known to the Kashmiris as *wudar*."

Family URSIDAE

Black Bear, *Ursus torquatus* (Hapat, Kashmiri). The old name, *U. tibetanus*, was misleading as the black bear does not occur in Tibet.

"The length of the largest I have seen is 6½ feet. Perhaps this bear is not so much 'shot out' as many people believe. It has taken to cliffs and secluded spots, and many of the old males are met with at high elevations. I shot one in April, 1892, above Lidarwat."

The Black Bear (*Bomba Hapat*) is very common, especially in the Lolab valley. It is more formidable than the red bear, and often attacks villagers in the fields of Indian corn. Like the red bear, it is partly carnivorous, but it is a large consumer of maize and rice, walnuts, mulberries, roots, and the berries of the *Viburnum foetens*. The Kashmiris have many proverbs about the bear, all founded on the supposed stupidity of the animal (*Hapat Yaraz*); or the friendship of a bear always leads a man into trouble through the blundering of his friend. There has, apparently, been little diminution in the number of black bears, and their depredations cause serious injury to the crops. In 1871, four officers of one regiment carried away eighty skins, of which nearly half fell to one man's rifle. Most of the bears of Kashmir have been fired at, and near the villages their temper is not of the best. The people believe that black bears sometimes carry off women into the forests, and they speak of their wonderful ingenuity - how they tie up bushes to form a shady bower, and how sometime they tie up female bears.

"The Brown or Red Bear, *Ursus arctus*, or *Isabellinus* (*Lal Hapat* of Kashmiri shikaris). Greatly diminished in numbers but still far from uncommon. The old bears are shy and seldom appear until nearly dusk. Length of a large male, 7 feet."

This animal is fairly common in Kashmir, and is known as *Koin Hapat*. The red bear is keen of scent, but short-sighted. It is partly herbivorous, and partly carnivorous, and many cattle are killed every year by red bears. Length, up to and slightly over 7 feet. Height, 3 ft. 4 in. It is said that the red and black bears interbreed.

Order INSECTIVORA

Family SORIRIDAE

"The Brown Musk Shrew (*Crocidura murina*). The musk-rat or shrew, *C. coeruleae*, and a water-shrew which is found in some of the side valleys. I killed one in the Aroo, but unfortunately the coolie lost it or threw it away. Jerdon mentions the Himalayan water-shrew as coming from Darjeeling (*Crassopus himalaicus*), and Blandford gives the habitat in south-eastern Himalayas. I have seen water-shrews in many parts of Kashmir."

Order CHIROPTERA

Family PTEROPODIDAE

The Flying Fox. I have only seen this bat on the outer ranges. The native name is *wutsgagar*, and it is common in the Sind Valley. It gives a very soft light fur which is made into rugs.

"There are doubtless many insectivorous bats in Kashmir, but I have never studied them. The Kashmiri cave-bat or Theobald's bat, the common bat of Europe (*Vespertilio murinus*), and others are especially mentioned in the Fauna of British India as coming from Kashmir, but on the bats I can write nothing except what I could get from books, and those anxious for further information can study Jerdon and Blandford."

Order RODENTIA

Family SCIURIDAE

The Red Flying Squirrel (*Pteromys inornatus*). The Kashmiri Flying Squirrel (*Sciuropterus fimbriatus*). Both these are very common and are easily shot in the wild walnut trees and amongst the hazels in October.

"In the Pir Panjal, I obtained an almost black flying squirrel, it was too large to have been *S. alboniger*."

Family MURIDAE

Kashmir is overrun with rats and mice.

"The Common Indian Rat, the Brown Rat (*Mus decumanus*). I have only seen this near Baramula. The common house mouse is everywhere. The sides of every bank are full of rat holes."

The water-rat is common, and the musk-rat occurs. At Gulmarg, I have seen huge bandikots. All rats are known as *gagur*; mice are known as *krints*. They cause great damage to crops of wheat and barley.

"Royle's Vole (*Microtus Roylei*), commonly known as the Common Himalayan Vole. As far as I am aware, the other Himalayan voles are only found over the passes. To travellers in Ladakh, Blyth's vole must be well known."

Family HYSTRICIDAE

"The Porcupine (*Hystrix leucura*), not common. I have found the quills, but have never seen a live specimen in Kashmir."

Family LEPORIDAE

"I have seen the common hare near Domel: the Ladakh hare is a different species."

There are no hares in the valley. Perhaps this is due to the prevalence of irrigation.

Order UNGULATA

Family BOVIDAE

Genus *Capra*

We now come to the most interesting of the mammals which attract a considerable portion of the visitors to the hills of Kashmir and its neighbouring districts.

The Markhor (*Capra Falconeri*). The Pir Panjal is sadly "shot out", and the Kaj-Nag is in the same category.

In 1884, heads of 59 in. and 54 in. were bagged. The weight of a full grown male shot on Malamgan cliffs was 240 lbs., but this was exceptional, and few of the Kashmir markhor attain that weight.

The Kutai and other nullahs are much driven with dogs by the natives, and there is no doubt that the numbers of these magnificent goats are fast being diminished. In winter, the markhor is grey, in summer a brownish red.

The female is an insignificant creature with horns of 10 to 11 ins.; under no circumstances should one be shot. The Kashmiri markhor has from two to three complete turns in the spirals. The Astor animal has one turn or almost one and a half. The markhor ruts in December, and the kids are born in June.

"*Habitat* - the Pir Panjal, the Kaj-Nag and Shamsibri mountains."

The best ground for markhor is the well-known Kaj-Nag mountain north-west of the valley. The markhor (i.e. the snake-eater) is an enormous goat with two turns, sometimes nearly three, in the spiral of the horns. In one nullah on the Kaj-Nag, a sportsman bagged three markhor with horns of 52, 55 and 59 inches long in the course of a few days. A good cragsman is wanted for the successful pursuit of markhor, as they generally choose dangerous and inaccessible ground. The markhor keep in herds, the old males go in with the females and young males in December and separate again in the spring. The finest horn on record is said to be 61 inches. The markhor is found on the Pir Panjal, but the heads on that range are not so fine as the heads on the Kaj-Nag.

The Ibex, *Capra sibirica* (*Kail*, Kashmiri). There are still ibex to be found in Kashmir, though they are seldom sought for, as most men go to the far-off shooting grounds. I picked up a 50-in. horn on the Zogila hill in 1881, and I have never heard of a larger head. I am, of course, alluding to the near shooting grounds, as 54 in. and 56 in. are on record for elsewhere.

'Sadly has the sport deteriorated of late years, but rifles have been improved and the game suffers.

Dimensions of a large buck from the Wardwan:

	Height at shoulder	Length of body	Tail	Weight
<i>Male:</i>	38 inches	54 inches	8 inches	188 lbs.
<i>Female:</i>	32 inches			104 lbs.

"Unlike the markor, the ibex faces the winter at considerable elevations, but the green grass of the spring-time tempts them down. I saw a herd of small ibex within two miles of Aroo village in 1892."

The ibex (*kel*) is said to be found on the northern side of the Lolab and in the Sind and Liddar valleys, but of late years sportsmen have to seek the ibex in the more distant mountains of Ladakh, Baltistan, and Wardwan. In the winter and spring, it is easy to find the ibex, but in the summer it goes to great heights and roves over a large area of country. The ibex is a gregarious animal. The breeding season commences in November, and the young are generally born towards the end of June. The *kel* is said to be larger than the European ibex, its horns are longer, more curved and more tapering. In Baltistan, an excellent homespun is made from the under hair of the ibex (*kel famb*).

Genus *Hemitragus*

"*Hemitragus jemlaicus* (the *Tahr jagla*, Kashmiri). The Pir Panjal is the only ground within the limits of this book. I have seen no good specimens from those parts; but other nullahs in the Maharaja's dominions give very fine heads. An old male standing out on a cliff is a very fine sight. He is a wary creature, hard to stalk, and frequents bad walking ground. Weight, 200 lbs.; maximum length of horns, 14 in. Kashmir is not the shooting ground for this game. Rutting season, December."

Genus *Nemorhaedus*

"*Nemorhaedus bubalerius* (the *Serow ramu*, Kashmiri). Fairly plentiful, but difficult to obtain. I have no measurements of the few specimens killed in Kashmir, but give those of the finest animals I have killed in the Ganges valley and the vicinity of Dehra.

	Height at shoulder	Weight	Length of Horn
Male:	37 inches	190 lbs.	12 inches
Female:	33 inches	120 "	10 "

Above Shalamar there are still serow.

Under genus *Cemas* or, according to Blyth and Jerdon, *Nemorhaedus*, comes the Goral (*Cemas* or *Nemorhaedus goral*, Pij, Kashmiri), uncommon in Kashmir, except in the Pir range; is recorded from the Sind and Dandwar, etc.

	Height at shoulder	Weight	Length of Horn
	28 inches	55 to 65 lbs.	6 in., maximum 8 in.

"The female has thin horns of sometimes 5 in. long. Sexes much alike and difficult to distinguish when standing on the hill side. Although to a certain extent solitary in its habit, others are generally found on the same hill."

Family CERVIDAE

Genus *Cervulus*

Cervulus aureus or (to follow Blandford), *Cervulus munijac*. I have only seen one specimen in Kashmir, this was driven out of the Achibal preserve in 1885 - how it got there I cannot say. It is found on the outer slopes of the Pir Panjal. I give measurements of the rib-faced or barking deer from those shot in Garhwal and elsewhere.

	Height at shoulder	Weight	Length of Horn
	Maximum, 26 inches	38 to 42 lbs.	5 to 8 inches

"There is very great difference in the size of this animal. Those found in the Siwaliks are generally small. Blandford gives height 22 in.; this is decidedly very small."

Genus *Cervus*

The Barasingh. This fine stag may be seen in the Sind valley, in the Lolab, and, as winter comes on, may be found in most parts of the valley, where it joins the mountains. The barasingh sheds its

horns about the end of March and makes its way to the high mountains above the forest line, and does not return till its horns are renewed in autumn. Then the calling season commences, and in September and October the sportsman has his best chance. Stags are always to be found in the State preserves in the Wangat, at Khunmu and Trahal, and later in the winter they descend to the State forest above Achibal. The barasingh is known to the Kashmíri as Hangal, a name said to have been given on account of the barasingh's love for horse chestnuts. Native shikaris tell me that stags are very fond of water-cress. The flesh of the barasingh is much esteemed by the Kashmiris, and the horns are used for a variety of purposes. In the State palaces, the antlers are employed as candelabra. Pieces of horn are used for the pommels of country saddles.

"At one time we might almost have said that it was nearly extinct, but if the game laws are only strictly upheld we may still see this magnificent beast fairly plentiful in Kashmir. As long as the goat-herd roams the hills and penetrates into the recesses of the mountains where the hornless stag loves to dwell in seclusion, we shall never see the same numbers that formerly existed.

"The rutting season is from September 20 to about October 20. Stags are generally shot when calling, or else in February and March when down on the green grass. The horns of nearly all the large animals are cast in April, and when one hears of them carrying horns in May and June, it is very exceptional. The largest measurements I have are:

Height at shoulder	Weight	Length of Horn
94½ inches	400 lbs.	47 inches

"Ten times is the common number. Good royals are scarce. The fairest way to test a head is to weigh it."

Genus *Moschus*

"The Musk Deer (*Moschus moschiferus*, *Rass* or *Rous* of Kashmiris). This little animal was becoming very scarce, and even now is seldom met with near the main valley. They breed at a very early age, and should multiply quickly, if only the game laws are not allowed to be a dead letter.

"The pod (*Nafa*) contains a soft, brownish matter which is the much-coveted musk; about 2 tolas is the limit of the weight, and the price runs high, consequently the Kashmiri will risk a good deal to secure it. This deer grazes chiefly on leaves in the summer. The musk-deer is found at altitudes varying from 6,000 to 13,000 feet or more.

"The musk-deer of Kashmir is generally smaller than those of our own Himalayas. It is higher in the croup than at the shoulder.

Height
22 inches

Weight
20 to 25 lbs.

"The young are spotted on the back and sides. They are pretty pets and become quite tame, but require considerable variety in food, hence they are difficult to keep in the winter."

Order SUINA

Family SUIDAE

"The Indian Wild Boar (*Sus cristatus*) is common in many parts of Kashmir. In winter it is generally found below 6,000 feet, but in summer ascends to 8,000 feet and over."

The Wild Pig is known to the Kashmiris as *Bad*, and is said to have been introduced in the time of Maharaja Gulab Singh. It is common in the State preserves and along the foot of the mountains on the eastern side of the valley. Pigs attain a great size, and do much injury to the crops. The Dogras and Sikhs consider the flesh of the wild pig to be a great delicacy.

The Marmot (*Arctomys hemachalanus*). The marmot is found among the rocks on the high passes leading from Kashmir to Gilgit and Ladakh. It is known as *Drin*, and has a handsome fur of a reddish-yellow colour from which excellent rugs can be made. The marmot on the approach of a traveller utters a shrill, bird-like sound. It is very quick, and disappears rapidly into holes in the rocks.

The Mouse hare, *Lagomys roylei*, is found in Gulmarg.

BIRDS

The Kashmíri knows little about birds. He speaks of them all as *Janwar*, and though he takes considerable interest in the song birds, he is ignorant of the habits of the feathered kingdom. He knows that the Swallow, *Katij* (No. 207), and the Golden Oriole, *Poshmul* (No. 119), are harbingers of spring, but he has never noticed the altruistic habits of the Cuckoo. The Kashmírís are kind to birds, and up to the present time the hateful plumage hunter, so common in India, has not made his way to the valley. The Kashmíri boy does not collect eggs, and on the whole, the birds have a happy and careless existence in this beautiful country. The blue Heron, *Breg* (No. 39), is very common in the valley, and there are fine heronries at Palhalan, Narabal, Kulgam, and at other places. In the old days, every man of position wore a plume of herons' feathers (*gund*), and on marriage occasions the bridegroom dons the plume. The feathers are carefully kept in round boxes and are handed down as heirlooms. The fashion is passing away. The right to collect herons' feathers is farmed out. In 1893, the farmer paid Rs. 268 and 2,999 feathers to the State, but there is little competition for the farm. One old man once begged hard to be released from his contract, and deplored his wretched fate, paddling about in a boat with a decoy heron which he had to feed with live fish. He proved to me that there was no profit in herons' feathers, and asked to be allowed to adopt agricultural pursuits.

The classification here adopted is that of Dr. Bowdler Sharpe, communicated to the Second Ornithological Congress at Budapest in 1891. His nomenclature and that of Mr. E. W. Oates have also been followed.

Order GALLIFORMES - Game-Birds

Sub-Order PHASIANI

Family PHASIANIDAE - Pheasants

1. *Lerwa lerwa*. The Snow Partridge (in Gilgit, *Koreish*). I have only seen this partridge in Gilgit at about 14,500 feet elevation on a rocky ridge. There was a pair of old birds with their brood of

six or seven chicks. Dr. Adams, however, found it on the mountains between the Wardwan and the Liddar valley, so I include it in this list.

2. *Tetraogallus himalayensis*. The Himalayan Snow Cock (*Ram chikor* of sportsmen; *Gurka-kao* in Kashmíri). Is found on most of the higher ridges in Kashmir among crags and rocky ground near the snow-line, generally in coveys of ten to twenty. Has a loud, clear, long whistle, uttered while the bird is seated, which is intensified and repeated more rapidly when it flies. It also utters a chuckling note something like that of the chikor, but not so rapid, when on the ground. I have caught the young in July, and once, when following a wounded ibex, I found the nest placed under a stone on the margin of a boulder-strewn glacier. It contained eight eggs, of a pale olive-brown colour, tinged light bluish, slightly dotted at the lower end, with light brown spots; length $2\frac{13}{16}$ inches, width $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches. The old bird sat very close, and I almost caught her as she flew off.

3. *Caccabis chukar*. The Chikor Partridge Kashmíri, *kak*). The chikor belongs to the genus of 'rock' or 'sand' partridges, and is the only example of the true partridges in Kashmir. It is exceedingly common, every rocky hill and slope round the valley being more or less frequented by them. Favourable ground is to be found in rocky, bushy slopes, with a backing of steep cliffs above them to which the birds can retire for security and shelter; dense bushy cover is generally unlikely for birds unless they have been driven into it when disturbed from their usual haunts. I have seen them in rice fields after the crop has been cut, picking up stray grains left by the reapers, and in millet fields near the foot of hills are a favourite resort while the crop is standing. Pairing commences early in March, when many birds retire up hill for the season; and during summer, and even in October, chikor may be seen up to over 9,000 feet elevation. Many, however, seem to breed near their usual winter haunts, and these birds form the stock which supplies sport in early September.

There has been a great falling off in the number of chikor recently, due to the severe winters of late years, to poaching by natives in the breeding season, encouraged by some English visitors who buy the birds for the table, and to indiscriminate shooting by

sportsmen of the class who care for nothing but the 'bag'. The Game Laws passed this year by the Kashmir Government will do much to rectify this state of affairs, if properly enforced. The chikor is both hardy and prolific, and with ordinary fair play will soon be as numerous as ever.

4. *Coturnix communis* The Large Grey Quail. Visits Kashmir in small numbers in April and May, remaining throughout July and August. I have heard it calling in these months in the valley, and in August, 1888, in the trumba (buckwheat) crops at Sonamarg. It probably breeds here to some small extent. The best seasons I know of were 1887 and 1894, when from eight to ten brace were shot at a time. In ordinary seasons half that number would be a good bag.

5. *Lophophorus refulgens*. The Monaul Pheasant (Kashmíri, male *Sunal* or *Suna 'Murg'*; female *Haum*). The Monaul is well distributed in the upper forests, but one never sees any great number; though twelve to fifteen may be flushed in some places in the course of a day's walk, oftener not half that number will be seen. Formerly they were much more plentiful. In October, 1864, while following the Bonar and Bunzar glens, I put up quantities of Monaul, chiefly hens. They rose at every step from the dry grass and bracken, perching on the pine trees around, and ten or fifteen brace might have been bagged by simply shooting them as they sat. A recent visit to this spur showed only three or four birds.

6. *Tragopan melanocephalum*. The Simla Horned Pheasant (*Rang Rawul* of some Kashmíris; *Riar* in Hazara). Rare in Kashmir. I have never seen or heard of it on the Sind-Liddar side of the valley. A few exist on Dandwar, where the shikaris know it, and it is probably sparingly distributed on the wooded slopes on the south and east sides of Kashmir. One was shot near Hai Hama, Lolab, on May 20, 1894, by a Pathan Zemindar. The people round said they had never seen the bird before. It was probably a wanderer from the Kaj-Nag or Shamsibri hills, where the bird is more common.

7. *Pucrasin biddulphi*. The Kashmir Pucras Pheasant. Commonly called *Koklas*. To be found in all Kashmir forests singly

or in scattered parties, and when numerous, its short hoarse crowing call is one of the earliest bird-sounds heard at daybreak. Like the Monaul it is never found in sufficient number to afford a 'bag'. It comes lower down than the Monaul, though generally seen at much the same elevation. While chikor shooting near Lar, in November, 1893, one was flushed by the beaters in thorny scrub. It had probably been driven down by a hawk from the steep hills above.

Dr. Jerdon considers that *Pucrasia castanca* (of Gould) may possibly be found in Kashmir limits (*Birds of India*, vol. iii. pp. 526, 527). I know of no other pheasants in Kashmir proper; though the adjacent outer ranges contain the 'Chic' (*Catreus Wallichii*), and white-crested 'Kalij' (*Gennacus albocristatus*) in addition to the Monaul and 'Koklas'.

Order PTEROCLETES - Sand-grouse

Family PTEROCLIDAE

8. *Pterocles arenarius*. The Large Sand-Grouse. Can hardly be called a Kashmir visitant, but stragglers are occasionally seen. I saw the bird, after being attracted by hearing the call, on the high dry karewas near Pampur in late November, 1889, on more than one occasion, but could never get within shot.

Order COLUMBIFORMES - Pigeons

Family COLUMBIDAE - True Pigeons

9. *Columba Hodgsoni*. The Speckled Wood-Pigeon. This splendid pigeon is fairly numerous in the Kashmir forests at from 7,000 to 9,000 feet generally, though I have seen it at fully 11,000. Male - above dark vinaceous purple, with white spots on median wing-coverts; head ashy-grey, tinged ruddy, nape vinous grey, with pointed pearl-gey tips; rump ashy, neck and under surface warm grey, with a ruddy mesial streak to each feather, especially on the breast; abdomen dark vinous; tail ashy black; bill purple black; irides grey; orbital skin livid; feet blackish, green in front, yellow

behind; length 15 inches, extent 26 inches.

The female is smaller, the grey on the head darker and very slightly ruddy in parts; general plumage as seen flying almost as dark as a jackdaw. I have seen this pigeon in various parts of Kashmir, most numerous in Wangat Nala, where I shot a number as the birds came down to a salt-lick in the forest. I was well concealed in a birch thicket, and the salt mud must have been a great attraction or I should never have got a succession of shots at these most wary birds.

10. *Palumbus casiotis*. The Himalayan Wood-Pigeon. This pigeon, though very numerous in Poonch, is rare in Kashmir, and I have only seen one or two on the Dandwar side of the valley. It differs from the English wood-pigeon in being less blue-grey and more brownish dove-colour on the upper plumage, and in having the neck-patch buff or fulvous instead of white. Length 17 inches; bill orange at tip, whitish at the base; feet red.

11. *Columba intermedia*. The Blue Rock-Pigeon. Is too well known to require description. Fairly common in Kashmir, though not so abundant as in India. Large flocks are sometimes seen about cultivation, especially in autumn. It should be noted that in the British Museum Catalogue *C. rupestris* and *C. livia* are included from Kashmir.

12. *Columba leuconota*. The White-bellied Pigeon. The 'Snow-Pigeon' of sportsmen. Generally seen at high elevations, in upland glens and plateaux above the forest-line, generally in parties, sometimes in immense flocks, feeding on the turf and about sheep-folds. I have seen it low down after stormy weather in spring and autumn, but *never* in the valley in winter; whether it migrates at that season or remains aloft in the snows remains to be solved. I have not found it very shy, and it is far less wary than the wood-pigeons. Bill black; irides yellow; legs red. Length 13 to 14 inches.

Sub-Family TURTURINAE - Turtle-Doves

13. *Turtur ferrago*. The Rufous Turtle-Dove. Excessively common in the side glens, but less so in the valley of Kashmir; found round cultivation and glades and clearings in the forests and

near villages. Ascends to 9,000 or 10,000 feet. Is seen singly or in small parties, and sometimes in flocks of fifty or sixty, especially when feeding in the fields. General colour rufescent above, head bluish grey; wing coverts and scapulars dusky, broadly-edged rufous, beneath vinaceous; under tail coverts white; bill blackish-crimson; irides orange; feet dull red. Length $11\frac{1}{2}$ to $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

14. *Turtur douraca*. The Indian Ring-Dove. General colour pale grey, brownish on the back; a narrow black ring on neck; bill black; irides crimson; feet dull red; length 12 to 13 inches. The common dove of India summers in the Kashmir valley, but never ascends beyond it; arrives in April, leaving in autumn. I have seen stragglers lingering till November, chiefly at the east end of the valley.

Order RALLIFORMES - Rails

Family RALLIDAE

15. *Fulica atra*. The Bald Coot (Kashmíri, *Kolar*). Common on the Wular lake and adjacent lagoons in winter, and generally distributed throughout the valley. I once watched a flock of coots diving for some favourite weed near the shore of the Wular, and being robbed of their morsels as they came to the surface by Gadwall, which swam about among the coots, snatching the weeds from their bills, to the great annoyance of the latter. The Gadwall being one of the non-diving ducks were unable to procure the weeds for themselves, but their greater activity on the surface enabled them to rob the coots with impunity.

16. *Gallinula chloropus*. The Water-hen (Kashmíri, *Tech*). Is fairly common on lakes and in reed beds in summer. The general colour is as described by Jerdon (vol. iii, p. 718), but (in females particularly) the head is black, not dusky grey, and the wings bronze olive, not dusky. The general dark plumage, the red shield over the forehead, and the light green legs with an orange garter above the knee make this bird easy to recognize. Length of a female $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches; of a male $12\frac{3}{4}$ inches. This is one of the few birds in which the female is larger and more richly coloured than the male.

17. *Porzana pusilla*. The Eastern Crake. Found in sedges and reed beds, etc. It lies close and is difficult to find.

Order PODICEPIDIFORMES - Grebes

18. *Tachybaptus albipennis* (Kashmíri, *Pind*). Indian Little Grebe. Very common in lakes and swamps, and occasionally seen on the open waters of the Jhelum in hard winters. In summer it betakes itself to the thicker sedges and reed beds where it breeds, and at this time it assumes a darker plumage than in winter. It is a quaint little bird, with a strong element of curiosity; when duck-shooting over decoys, myself well concealed, I have seen it swim up and examine the ducks that had fallen, and I once saw one peck vigorously at a decoy.

Order LARIFORMES - Gulls

Family LARIDAE

19. *Larus ridebundus*. The Laughing Gull (Kashmíri, *Krind*). Found in considerable numbers on jheels and lakes in the winter, and a good many may always be seen off the rocky shore of the Wular near Watlab at that season. Head and under surface white; back and general upper plumage pale ash; first four primaries tipped black; bill and legs deep red; length 15 to 16 inches. In summer the head and upper neck become deep reddish-brown. Adams states that it breeds on the lakes in Ladakh. It is only a winter visitant to Kashmir.

20. *Hydrochelidon hybrida*. This Tern is very abundant on the swampy lagoons and marshes in Kashmir in summer. Jerdon notes it as very common in India, and as breeding in large churrs on the Ganges, and probably on some other large rivers.

21. *Sterna hirundo*. The European Common Tern (Kashmíri, *Kreu*). Is found on swamps and marshes in summer and breeds here, not as common as the last species. The eggs are quite as good as plovers' eggs. Head and nape black; plumage above pale

grey, beneath white; bill red; irides brown. Length $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Adams observed it in Kashmir.

Order CHARADRIIFORMES - Plovers and Snipes

Family OEDICNEMIDAE - Thick-Knees

22. *Oedicnemus crepitans*. The Common Thick-Knee. I saw a pair of this species on a stony beach of the Veshau river, near Nihama, in August, 1889, but was unable to secure a specimen. I have never seen the bird since in Kashmir. It is a permanent resident of India.

Family CHARADRIIDAE - Plovers

I have never seen either the Grey or Golden Plover in Kashmir, although they might be expected to visit the country, being found in India during the cold season.

23. *Aegialitis dubius*. The Lesser Ringed Plover. Found on the stony beaches and boulder-strewn sandy turf bordering the Sind river near Gandarbal, and also on the Pohra river. Plumage as in Jerdon, vol. ii, pp. 641, 642, but the legs are *yellowish-ashy*, not *yellow*. I failed to find the nest. Has a low piping note, constantly repeated, and also a louder call, chiefly uttered at night. It no doubt breeds here, as I obtained a specimen on June 2, 1894.

24. *Vanellus vanellus*. The Crested Lapwing. Very common in autumn and winter. I have no evidence of its breeding here; it frequents marshes and wet pastures, and is often seen in large flocks.

25. *Sarciophorus indicus*. The Red-wattled Lapwing. Better known as the 'Did he do it' bird. Very common, I have seen it in nearly every month in the year; no doubt it breeds here. Eggs large, rich olive yellow, blotched grey and brown.

Family PARRIDAE - Jacanas

26. *Hydrophasianus chirurgus*. The Pheasant-tailed Jacana. This handsome bird is a well-known feature of Kashmir lakes and swamps in summer. It has very long thin toes and claws. General plumage - brown above with a gold-coloured patch on back of neck; beneath and wings and tail, black. It may be seen running over the broad leaves of aquatic plants and feeding in parties on marshy ground. The cry, like that of a hound or beagle, may be heard both by day and night. I found the flesh (called 'excellent' in Jerdon) to be black, dry, and insipid.

27. *Numenius arquata*. The Curlew (Kashmíri, *Golar*). The Kashmíris say that this bird is common, but such is not my experience. I have seen it in winter about Ninghel and the shores of the Wular, and in September, 1893, I shot one out of a party of three on the Veshau river near Korwyn.

28. *Ibidorynchus struthersii*. The Red-billed Curlew. This handsome curlew is seldom seen. It is found on the pebbly strands where mountain rivers widen out and are fringed with willow bushes and scrub, generally singly, although two or three may frequent the same locality. Has a wild whistling cry, uttered when it takes wing. I saw it at Inshin in the Wardwan, and a pair frequented the bifurcations of the Liddar below Pahlgam during a summer I was there; they were no doubt breeding, though I failed to find their nest. General plumage - above ashy olive; beneath white; head, and a broad gorget on breast, black; a white wing-bar; bill crimson; irides red; legs blood-red. Length 16½ inches.

29. *Machetes pugnax*. The Ruff. Seen in flocks in March, frequenting grass lands and the edges of marshes. Have only seen it in its winter plumage, when the males are without their characteristic ruff. Not very common.

30. *Totanus glareola*. The Wood Sandpiper. This and the next two species are common throughout the winter, and individuals may be found in summer. Most probably breeds here.

31. *Totanus glottis*. The Greenshanks. Very common in autumn and winter. Arrives about September and stays till April. It is capital eating.

32. *Actitis hypoleucos*. The Common Sandpiper. Is not so common as the two last species.

Family SCOLOPACIDAE - Snipes

33. *Scolopax rusticula*. The Woodcock. Breeds in the forests all round Kashmir in considerable numbers, and at dusk may be seen flying over glades and open spaces during the summer months. At this time, it utters a short, metallic whistle, heard at a considerable distance, and preceded by a low, croaking note, not audible till the bird is close at hand. Kashmíri name, *Zar batchi*. The majority of the woodcock bred here must migrate in the winter. I once shot one in January in the Awantipura 'chikor' ground, and have also shot them in Wangat, and near Bringan Lamar, but have never seen or heard of sufficient numbers being shot in winter to account for a tithe of the number bred here in the summer months; a few may remain near warm springs in the forests, but where the great majority go is at present a mystery.

34. *Gallinago solitaria*. The Himalayan Solitary Snipe. Is sparsely distributed in Kashmir. I once shot three in late November along the course of a small stream at Kotsoo in the Liddar valley, and have seen it in other localities. The cry is somewhat like that of the common snipe, but shorter and more husky.

35. *Gallinago scolopacinus*. The Common Snipe. Very common, and often seen in great numbers from September till the end of March. A good day's sport with snipe is, however, seldom obtained, as after the first few shots the birds generally betake themselves to swamps and quagmires, where it is impossible to follow them either on foot or in a boat. The Kashmírís catch them in horsehair nooses, and I found a man who had shot a few along the marshy channel of the Sind river, using his long poking punt-gun charged with fine gravel!

36. *Lymnocyptes gallinula*. The Jack-snipe. Common in Kashmir. Found in marshes, etc., together with the common snipe.

37. *Rhynchoaea bengalensis*. The Painted Snipe. Is not very common, but exists in Kashmir, and is flushed in ordinary snipe ground, and among rice fields; most probably breeds here.

Order GRUIFORMES - Cranes

Family GRUIDAE

38. *Grus lilfordi*. Lord Lilford's Crane (*Kulang* in India; *Kunj* in the Punjab). Is a regular winter visitant to Kashmir, and chiefly frequents the flat country around the Wular, the cultivated plain of Kamraj near Sopur, and is seen more rarely between Shadipur and Srinagar. In an open season, it remains the whole winter, but as I have never seen it after severe weather has set in, I conclude that a heavy snowfall drives it southward. They collect in large flocks for migration in late February and early March, where I have seen 150 or more together, wheeling upward in circles above Sodnor and Ajus till they were level with the mountain tops, and then flying off straight northward. It is remarkable that their arrival in, and departure from, Kashmir, should be respectively later and earlier than their migratory movements to and from India.

Order PELARGIFORMES - Herons

Family ARDEIDAE

39. *Ardea cinerea*. The Blue Heron (Kashmīri, *Breg*). Very common all over the valley, and ascends mountain rivers to over 7,000 feet, generally, however, passing downward in the evening to roost. Heronries exist at Koolgam and many other places, the chenar tree being chosen by the birds for their nests. The trees selected are much damaged by their droppings. The heron is a royal bird in Kashmir, and the right to collect the head feathers is farmed out to men who watch the heronries in the moulting season. These men also keep tame herons, using them to attract wild birds,

which are caught in nooses set round where the tame birds stand tethered leg-deep in water. This heron farming is said to be on the wane now, there being little demand for the feathers.

40. *Herodias egretoides*. The Small Egret. Frequents, in large flocks, the shores of the Wular lake and the wet mud-flats in winter.

41. *Ardeola leucoptera*. The Pond Heron; the Paddy Bird. Seen about rice fields, groves of trees, etc., in summer. It must migrate to India in the winter, for it seems to disappear from Kashmir at that season.

42. *Ardetta sinensis*. The Yellow Bittern. Common in the reeds and sedges mixed with willow planting on the Dal lake and similar localities. Hides among the reeds or perches on willows. I have only seen it in summer, i.e., May to September. Length 14 to 15 inches.

43. *Ardetta minuta*. The Little Bittern of Europe. Found, together with the Yellow Bittern, in similar places. May be distinguished by its black head, back, scapulars, and tail. Length 14 inches.

44. *Botaurus stellaris*. The Bittern. Seldom seen in Kashmir, possibly partly owing to its nocturnal habits, and partly to the inaccessible nature of the swamps to which it resorts. I saw a very fine one in one of the jheels near Ajus in November, 1893, but it was out of shot.

Family CICONIIDAE - Storks

45. I have seen Storks at various times in Kashmir, but never had a chance of identifying them. In March, 1886, I saw a flock of what looked like the White-necked Stork, *Ciconia leucocephala*, hovering close over the Takht-i-Suliman, and some alighting on the ridge of the hill. They were evidently migrating. I examined them through a telescope and believe them to have been the above species, but had no means of shooting a specimen.

Order ANSERIFORMES - Ducks and Geese

Family ANATIDAE

Sub-Family ANSERINAE - True Geese

46. *Anser cinereus*. The Grey Goose (Kashmíri, *Ans*). Found in vast flocks on the Wular in the winter months, arriving in the latter half of October and leaving for its northern resorts in March. This is the only wild goose I have been able to identify in Kashmir, although I think that I once saw the white-fronted species (*A. albifrons*) on the Wular. The grey geese spend the greater part of their time about the shores of the great lake, sleeping and feeding on the dry mud flats left by the receding waters in the autumn. Large numbers also pass the day on the lake itself, where they are incessantly persecuted by native punt-gunners. On the mud flats they are practically secure, although I have managed to bag a few by getting on to the flats after sunset and waiting for parties of geese to pass overhead, where it was too dark for them to see me. Hard weather and heavy gales drive them inland, where they may be found hovering over jheels and marshes, but always with a careful eye to their own safety; nowhere does the wild goose better maintain his character for wariness than in Kashmir. Solitary birds and small parties sometimes pass within easy shot even on the open lake, but generally choose a time when you do not expect them. On one occasion I shot one out of a small flock from my tent door at Mini-marg on the Astor road, while heavy snow was falling. This was in early November, and the geese were no doubt migrating. Length 30 to 32 inches. Dr. Jerdon gives the weight at from 9 to 12 lbs., but in Kashmir I have never found one much over 7 lbs., and many are less. Probably the food here in winter is much inferior to what they find in India.

Sub-Family ANATINAE - Ducks

47. *Casarca rutila*. The Ruddy Sheldrake (Hindi, *Chakwi*, *Chakwi*; *Tsakao* in Kashmíri). The 'Brahminy Duck' is not very common; most often seen at the end of winter and in early spring during its migration. Breeds in Ladakh.

48. *Spatula clypeata*. The Shoveller. Common in winter, and can be easily distinguished by the large spoon-shaped bill. The male has a very handsome plumage. The call is a quiet 'chook-chook', not heard at a distance. Kashmíri name, *Houk*.

49. *Anas boscas*. The Mallard. In Kashmíri, *Nili*. The female, called *Thuj*, arrives in late October and leaves in March. I once shot a female in May near Sumbal, and it is possible that a few pairs remain to breed here, but the majority certainly migrate, and I can find no evidence to support the statement in *The Game Birds of India* that this bird breeds extensively in Kashmir, and that the eggs are sold in large numbers in Srinagar. The four curled central feathers of the tail of the male have a saleable value, and are always stolen by the boatman after a day's shooting unless looked after. Women are said to use them as ornaments in their hair.

50. *Chaulelasmus streperus*. The Gadwall (Kashmíri, *Budan*). Very numerous in some winters and more scarce in others. Is one of the best ducks, both for sport and the table, and the season which produces large flocks of Gadwall is sure to be a good one for duck-shooting.

51. *Dafila acuta*. The Pintail Duck (Kashmíri, *Sok pachin*). This very handsome duck is seldom seen (except here and there a few) in Kashmir till the winter is well advanced, and it is towards the latter part of February that large numbers arrive, probably halting on their northward migration from India; at this time the jheels are often full of them, and they afford excellent sport. The call is soft and not often heard, and the drakes have also a short whistle not unlike that of the male teal (*Q. creca*), but deeper and fuller. This whistle is constantly repeated when the birds are collected in large flocks. Migrates in the spring and does not breed here.

52. *Mareca penelope*. The Widgeon (Kashmíri, *Shiewrni Budan*). Not common, and rarely shot, but may be found every winter mixed up with other wild-fowl on the Wular, and adjacent jheels. The whistling call ('whee-oh') of the males and the 'pur-r' of the females at once proclaims the presence of widgeon in a flock

of wild duck. Male - forehead and crown light buff; head and neck chestnut; back grey, in fine lines of black and white; wing-bar green, edged black; beneath white, neck and breast tinged ruddy; bill leaden blue; feet leaden grey. Female - generally fulvous brown; speculum without the green lustre; beneath as in male; bill and legs blackish grey; length $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Does not breed here.

53. *Querquedula crecca*. The Common Teal (Kashmíri, *Keus*). Very great numbers frequent the Kashmir lakes and jheels in winter. The birds begin to arrive in the end of August and remain till spring has commenced. I have observed that early in the season the flocks consist almost entirely of females of small size, probably young birds, while, later on, the males predominate in every flock. The call is a husky 'quack', and the male has a short piping whistle chiefly heard when the bird is flying. Does not breed here.

54. *Querquedula circia*. The Blue-winged Teal, or Garganey (Kashmíri, *Kulkilar*). Comparatively rare, although flocks of considerable size may be seen in March and well on into April. I have shot stragglers in February. This teal may be known by the brown head, with white eyebrow prolonged down the sides of the neck, the French-grey wing coverts, and greyish green speculum. Length $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches against $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches in the common teal.

Sub-Family FULIGULINAE - Diving Ducks
(with hind toe bordered by a web)

55. *Branta rufina*. The Red-crested Pochard (Kashmíri, *Tur*). This splendid duck is found in large flocks in winter, spending the day on the Wular and visiting favourite jheels at night, remaining there, if not disturbed, till nearly mid-day. The flocks swim in compact order and afford good chances to the punt-gunner. They seem to affect certain jheels where some favourite weed is to be obtained, for which they may be observed diving in rapid succession. Head and silky crest bright chestnut; back brown; beneath black; bill red, the tip white; irides red.

56. *Aythya ferina*. The Red-headed Pochard. Very rare in Kashmir, and I have only shot one or two. *Description*: Male - head and neck chestnut-red, *deeper* than in the red-crested species;

back, wing-coverts and scapulars white, with numerous fine black lines, giving a general silver-grey effect; rump and tail black; beneath black; abdomen with whitish undulations; bill leaden-grey, tip and base black; irides orange-yellow; legs bluish-grey. Length 19 inches; bill at front 2 inches; tarsus $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The female has the head, neck, and upper back reddish-brown; back as in the male, but the lines less distinct; throat and fore-neck white, mixed with reddish; breast reddish-brown, mottled white (Jerdon, vol. iii, p. 812).

57. *Aythya nyroca*. The White-eyed Duck (Kashmíri, *Harwat*). Very common, and certainly breeds here in considerable numbers. I have seen this duck at all seasons and shot the flappers in August, and also observed old birds, flying with dry grass in their bills, in May, among the sedges near Naidkhai. Flies well and affords very sporting shots, but is generally inferior to the other ducks. Has a rather subdued call. Length 16 inches; general colour deep brown; wing-bar and abdomen white; bill bluish-grey; irides white; in the young, pale brown.

58. *Fuligula cristata*. The Tufted Duck. Found on the Wular lake and in jheels in winter, generally in small parties and towards the end of the season. I have never observed it in the breeding months. General plumage black above and on neck; breast and neck white; a long, pendant, black crest on the head of the male (generally imperfect in winter); irides yellow; bill leaden.

59. *Erismatura leucocephala*. The White-faced Stiff-tailed Duck. Very rare; six specimens were shot on or near the Wular lake by a sportsman in the hard winter of 1890-1891. Is characterized by the stiff, pointed tail-feathers. Has been shot in the Panjab on one or two occasions.

Family MERGIDAE - Mergansers

60. *Mergus castor*. The Goosander. I have only seen this handsome bird on the Wular in pairs or small parties in winter. Male - head, crest, and upper neck glossy blackish-green; lower neck white; upper back black; lower back and tail-coverts ashy; tail ashy-grey; breast and abdomen white, glossed orange-buff or

salmon-colour; wing-coverts and outer scapulars rich buff-orange; bill deep red, black on the culmen; irides red; feet orange-red; length 26 inches. Female - head and neck reddish-brown; above ashy; throat white; beneath fulvous-white (Jerdon, vol. iii, p. 817).

61. *Mergellus albellus*. The Smew (Kashmíri, *Gagur*). Exists in considerable numbers on the Wular in winter, particularly affecting the bay of Watlab, at the foot of the rocky hill on which the Shukr Din shrine stands, where smews may be seen in scattered flocks. Male - head and occipital crest white, a black patch round the eyes and at base of bill, and another longitudinal one on the occiput; back, lesser wing-coverts and primaries black; beneath all white, with two narrow bands of black across the breast; bill bluish-grey; irides brown; legs leaden; length 16 to 17 inches. Female - head, crest, and occiput reddish-brown; back and tail grey; throat, neck, and abdomen white; bill and legs dark grey; much smaller than the male.

Order PELICANIFORMES - Pelicans

Sub-Order PHALACROCORACES

Family PHALACROCORAEIDAE - Cormorants

62. *Graculus sinensis*. The Lesser Cormorant (Kashmíri, *Mung*). Does not breed in Kashmir and is most frequently seen in the migratory seasons, i.e., spring and autumn, either flying in flocks up and down the rivers, sunning itself on some mud-bank or beach, or sitting on trees.

Order ACCIPITRIFORMES - Birds of Prey

Sub-Order FALCONES

Family VULTURIDAE - Falcons, Vultures

63. *Gyps fulvescens*. The Bay Vulture. Common on the mountains, and less so in the valley, unless attracted there by carcasses, etc. Vultures are not so common in Kashmir as in India,

and this is the species most generally seen.

64. *Gyps indicus*. The Long-billed Brown Vulture. I have observed this vulture occasionally in Kashmir and generally in the neighbourhood of Srinagar. It is not common.

65. *Neophron ginginianus*. The Indian Scavenger Vulture. Tolerably common at Srinagar and the riparian towns of the Jhelum; rare in the hills and upper glens.

Family FALCONIDAE - Hawks and Falcons

Sub-Family ACCIPITRINAE

66. *Circus cyaneus*. The Hen Harrier. Occurs in Kashmir; it is not so common as in India. The female is much more common than the male.

67. *Circus aeruginosus*. The Marsh Harrier. Is very numerous in winter, generally frequenting lagoons and swamps, where it is a persistent scourge to the wild-fowl, one or two keeping a whole jheel disturbed, teal rising in flocks and suddenly dropping into the reeds for shelter, and mallard being driven hither and thither by the ruthless persecutor. Wounded ducks, lost by sportsmen, are hunted out and devoured, and I have sometimes found this harrier useful in showing where a wounded bird was hidden. The cry is a shrill scream, often uttered when on the wing.

68. *Accipiter nisus*. The European Sparrow Hawk. I have seen a good many of this species from time to time in Kashmir. The female is the 'Basha' of India, and is trained to kill partridges by the natives. Some of the best partridge-ground in Hazara has been spoiled by this sport. Fortunately for the chikor, the Kashmiris are still ignorant of this use of the *Basha*.

Sub-Family BUTEONINAE - Buzzards

69. *Buteo vulgaris*. The Common Buzzard. I feel to blame for not having put the existence of this bird in Kashmir beyond a doubt. I have constantly seen at Gulmarg and elsewhere in

summer a buzzard which may be *B. plumipes*. It nests there, and its peculiar screaming call may often be heard in the pine-forests.

70. *Buteo ferox*. The Long-legged Buzzard, in all stages of plumage, may be found about the valley in October to December. I have not noticed it after the winter snow has fallen.

Sub-Family AQUILINAE - Eagles

71. *Gypaetus barbatus*. The Laemmergeier. Often seen in the mountains, and in winter among the lower hills, searching for carcasses or bones, of which latter it is a great consumer. The Ghoorkhas call it *Haddi Phor*, i.e. 'bone-breaker', from his habit of carrying a large bone up to a height and then dropping it on rocks to break it. I have seen one do this, but it must be a large bone that the bird cannot dispose of summarily. In the stomach of one that I examined was the entire knee-joint of a large goat, with parts of the tibia and humeral bones, the joint itself *doubled up*, and also several entire good-sized beef-bones; while a young nestling swallowed mutton-chop bones with ease and only choked a little over a leg of mutton-bone garnished with hard gristle. The bright plumage and the magnificent even sweep of its flight make it a feature in any landscape, but, grand as it looks, the bird is a veritable carrion-eater, and its cousinship to the Scavenger *Neophron* is shown in its habit of using rags or old bits of cloth, if obtainable, for its nest, and in the reddish-yellow lining membrane of the egg. The darker specimens are the young birds.

72. *Aquila chrysaetos*. The Golden Eagle. This king of eagles may certainly be included among the Kashmir *Raptorial*. It is not common; indeed it is common nowhere, but I have seen it two or three times in the valley in winter and late autumn. It also inhabits Ladakh, and I saw one in the Rupal Nala seated on a rock devouring a Snow-cock (*Tetraogallus himalayensis*). A season's search among the forest-clad precipices in the mountains would surely show that it breeds here. I have taken the nest in Hazara. It preys on lambs, kids, pheasants and wild-fowl, and small deer would fall easy victims. No other eagle save the Harpy Eagle of America can rival it in strength, size of talons, and destructive power.

73. *Aquila heliaca*. The Imperial Eagle. Is occasionally seen in Kashmir in autumn and winter.

74. *Aquila bifasciata*. The Steppe-Eagle. Is to be seen everywhere, sitting on stocks and trees all over the valley in early winter. I take *A. bifasciata* to be far the most common eagle in Kashmir. It preys on rats, etc., and will not refuse carrion. It is of sluggish habits, and I once saw one pursue a cat, but give up the chase after missing its first stoop, allowing the cat to escape over open ground to its village. I may mention a large, dark-coloured eagle I have seen wheeling round cliffs at a great height above me, and which may have been *Neopus malayensis*.

75. *Haliaeetus leucoryphus*. Pallas' Sea Eagle. Is pretty common in spring, summer, autumn and winter on the Jhelum and country near the Wular lake. On Christmas Day, 1889, I shot one at Hajun. It was seated on a high chenar-tree, and the plumage indicated that of a young bird. Dr. Leith Adams also noticed the species in Kashmir.

76. *Milvus govinda*. The Common Pariah Kite. Very common at all seasons, and found at all elevations up to 15,000 feet. It devours scraps and refuse, which it often snatches upon the wing, and in spring the village women and children may be heard shouting to scare it from the young chickens. Hume separates, under the name of *M. major*, a large variety found in jungles and lonely spots, and I believe he is right. I have seen this latter kite in Kashmir, generally in the mountains.

Family FALCONIDAE - True Falcons

77. *Falco peregrinus*. The Peregrine Falcon. I have no facts as to the breeding of this fine falcon in Kashmir, but as I have seen it at all seasons from spring to winter, it may be concluded that it does breed here. I shot a specimen in the Dal lake in November, 1886; he was perched on one of the poles used for fixing the so-called floating garden in its place. This falcon is the 'Bhyri' of India. *F. peregrinator*, the 'Shaheen' of Indian falconers, I have never seen in Kashmir.

78. *Hypotriorchis subbuteo*. The Hobby. I have shot this falcon in the Wardwan, and seen it in many parts of the country; I fancy that it certainly breeds here, visiting India in the winter.

79. *Hypotriorchis severus*. The Indian Hobby. The only specimen I have seen here was an adult at Sumbal, November 30, 1893, in full autumn plumage.

80. *Cerchneis timunculus*. The Kestrel. Is seen occasionally, but not nearly as commonly as in the northern Panjab. Preys on grasshoppers, locusts, field-rats, mice, and lizards.

Sub-Order PANDIONES - Ospreys

81. *Pandion haliaetus*. The Osprey. Is to be found in Kashmir at various elevations; I have seen it in the Dal lake, on the Jhelum and Sind rivers, and on the Aru branch of the Liddar above Pahlgam. On the Jhelum I saw one opposite Hari Singh Bagh at Srinagar dashing repeatedly at fish in the water, regardless of passing boats.

Sub-Order STRIGES - Owls

Family BUBONIDAE - True Owls

82. *Bubo bengalensis*. The Rock Horned Owl. Found in the lower rocky hills, such as the Takht-i-Suliman at Srinagar and similar localities throughout the valley, where its deep-toned hoot 'tu-whoo' may be heard at dusk uttered at intervals. Perches on rocks and more rarely on trees. Nests in crannies and on ledges among rocks, laying two or three white eggs; its large size and conspicuous ears often make it look, when sitting motionless, more like a large cat than a bird. Eyes very large, bright orange-yellow.

83. *Glaucidium Brodiei*. The Pigmy Collared Owlet. This quaint little owlet, scarcely larger than the silver 'owls' used as 'muffineers' at a dinner table, is, though not so common as in the Indian hills, to be included in the Kashmir Avi-fauna. It is chiefly found on the Pir Panjal side of the valley. It inhabits thick forests and is rarely seen by day; at night its note, a short, deep-toned

whistle, repeated twice at intervals, like the words 'tink-tink', may be heard in the forests.

84. *Asio otus*. The Long-eared Owl. Is rare in Kashmir according to Dr. Jerdon.

85. *Syrnium niviculum* (perhaps *S. biddulphi*). The Himalayan Wood Owl. This owl, or one closely resembling it, is found throughout the Kashmir forests from 6,000 to 10,000 feet elevation; it is seldom seen by day, but is everywhere audible at night, and in some places a dozen or more may be heard close to each other. The hooting is varied by a hoarse screeching note, which the shikaris declare to be uttered by the female.

Order CORACIIFORMES - Rollers, Kingfishers, etc.

Sub-Order CORACIAE - Rollers

86. *Coracias garrula*. The European Roller (Kashmíri, *Nilakraish*). Is fairly common from April to the end of September. I have chiefly noticed it near Islamabad, Kulgam, and in the lower parts of the Sind and Liddar, and in the Lolab and Kamraj. I have never seen *C. indica*, the so-called 'Blue Jay' of India, in Kashmir.

Sub-Order HALCYONES - Kingfishers

87. *Alcedo bengalensis*. The Common Indian Kingfisher. Very common in all rivers and streams in Kashmir, very tame in its habits, perching on the roofs and prows of boats, often within a few feet of the boat people. Stays all the year round, breeding in holes in river banks. Plumage - head and neck dusky, the feathers edged pale blue; a white patch on the sides of the neck; whole back bright turquoise-blue; wings and tail dusky greenish-blue; some light blue specks on the wing-coverts; beneath bright orange-brown; bill blackish above, orange below; feet orange-red. Length about 6½ to 7 inches.

88. *Ceryle rudis*. The Pied Kingfisher. Common at all seasons in Kashmir. This kingfisher searches for prey on the wing, hovering

over the water and then darting down on a fish; other species watch from some fixed station, and drop obliquely on any fish they espy.

Sub-Order UPUPAE - Hoopoes

89. *Upupa epops*. The European Hoopoe. Exceedingly common in spring and summer; breeds in holes in walls and trees. The nest emits a most abominable, carrion like stench. The bird is said by Dr. Jerdon to be venerated by Muhammadans on account of its having been a favourite bird of King Solomon, who is said to have employed one as a messenger. The bulk of the hoopoes disappear from Kashmir in autumn, but some certainly hibernate here. I have seen one tempted out by mild weather which preceded snow in January, and during the severe winter of 1891, I heard one calling faintly at 2 a.m. while a snowstorm was going on; the call seemed to come from some hollow in a neighbouring chenar tree.

Sub-Order MEROPES - Bee-eaters

90. *Merops apiaster*. The European Bee-eater. Appears in great numbers in the valley in April. After keeping together in flocks and holding counsel for a day or two, they separate to breed, which they do in holes in banks. In August, the birds again congregate, and may be seen sitting on telegraph wires, etc., in long lines. The migration commences almost immediately, and by September scarcely a bee-eater is left in the valley. In early September, 1891, I saw a large flock crossing Gulmarg and passing south-west.

Sub-Order CAPRIMULGI - Night-jars

Apparently no species of Night-jar has been found in the valley up to the present date, and the Hume collection does not contain a specimen. *Caprimulgus unwini* may perhaps be discovered in Kashmir some day.

Sub-Order CYPSELI - Swifts

91. *Chaetura nudipes*. Hodgson's Spine-tailed Swift. I have several times seen this splendid swift in the mountains, at from 8,000 to 10,000 feet elevation, generally in scattered flocks, wheeling and circling over some high ridge or plateau. Its flight is extraordinarily swift and powerful, and I believe that no other bird can equal the velocity it maintains in the air. One instant the flock is dashing round your head and the next it is out of sight beyond some distant peak; suddenly again you hear the rush of wings, and the birds are wheeling round you again, and a quick - very quick - shot may secure a specimen. To prevent confusion with the next species, found in similar places but not equalling it in flight, I note plumage as follows: head, nape, upper tail-coverts, rump, wings and tail black, with a blue-green gloss; back whity-brown, palest in the middle; chin, throat and neck white; lower neck, breast and belly sooty-brown; bill black; feet livid purple; irides brown. Length $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches; expanse of wings 20 to 21 inches; tail feather ending in rigid spines.

92. *Cypselus melba*. The Alpine Swift. Found on the Kashmir mountains. Of fast and powerful flight, but not equalling *C. nudipes*. Above wood-brown, glossed purple; beneath white; a wide pectoral band of brown. Length 9 inches; expanse 19 inches.

93. *Cypselus pekinensis*. The Pallid Swift. Adams says this swift is common in Kashmir, frequenting rocky streams, and I have seen it myself in various localities. Other swifts likely to occur in Kashmir are:

C. affinis. The Common Indian Swift.

C. leuconyx. The White-clawed Swift.

Collocalia brevirostris. The Indian Edible-nest Swiftlet.

All these have been obtained in Hazara, and may be found at any time to visit Kashmir - a good problem to work out!

Order COCCYGES - Cuckoos

In treating of this Family the following excerpt from

Dr. Jerdon's famous work may be of interest. Speaking of their well-known habit of laying their eggs in the nests of other birds, and of the young Cuckoo ejecting his foster-brethren from the nest, he remarks:

"The cause of this peculiar habit is supposed to be that the eggs of the cuckoo are matured very slowly, and that she requires an interval of several days to elapse between the laying of each egg, and the young too require to be fed longer than the young of other birds, which circumstances combined would make it difficult for her to incubate her own eggs and rear the brood. It may be that from want of intelligence she is unable to construct a nest. The low development of the parts subservient to generation, the small eggs of some, and a weakening of the parental impulses which is likely to accompany this, have been supposed to afford an explanation of their peculiar habits."

94. *Cuculus canorus*. The European Cuckoo (Kashmíri, *Shakuk* or *Kuku*). Is a regular visitant to Kashmir, arriving in May, though rarely seen in the valley proper; the side valleys, lower slopes, and forests, shelter great numbers, while they ascend to a considerable elevation, and I have seen them in numbers on the crest of a pass over 13,000 feet high, with nought but snow and rock around, calling and answering each other as they flew and perched among the crags.

The cuckoo seems to take some little time to find his voice after arriving in the spring, and I have watched one practising and only able to utter a hoarse monosyllabic note.

95. A cuckoo which I have never shot, but which I believe belongs to the genus *Hierococcyx*, is common in May, June, and July, and in all the mountain Nalas. I have seen it in the Sind, Liddar, Wardwan, and elsewhere. The general colour is a brownish-ashy, and M. H. Dauvergne, who shot one many years ago, describes the head and back as fulvous; wings umber-brown, beneath white; tail barred black and white in ovate stripes.

It is a very noisy bird, calling day and night, and the cry becomes a great nuisance in camp. The call is composed of six notes, running up in crescendo and down again, each group of six notes being repeated four or five times in a low key rising to a high one, and then falling to a lower tone at the end, thus 'chap, chap,

chap, chap, chap, chap, cheep, cheep, cheep, cheep, cheep, cheep, choop, choop, choop, choop, choop, choop'. I shall take the first opportunity of identifying this species. It may possibly prove to be *Cuculus intermedius*, of which a specimen from Ruttun Pir is in the Hume collection.

96. *Coccyzus jacobinus*. The Pied Crested Cuckoo. This cuckoo is found, though not very commonly, in the valley in summer. It does not ascend to high elevations. Its loud, whistling call is most often heard at the commencement of the rainy season in July.

Order SCANSORES - Climbing Birds

Sub-Order CAPITONES - Barbets

I have often been surprised at never finding a single representative of the Barbets in Kashmir.

Order PICIFORMES - Woodpeckers

Sub-Family PICINAE - True Woodpeckers

97. *Dendrocopos himalayensis*. The Himalayan Pied Woodpecker. Pretty common in all Kashmir forests up to 9,000 feet elevation. Adams mentions a woodpecker in Kashmir, which had the head white, neck and breast bluish-black, belly and vent red (possibly the 'White-cheeked Nuthatch', *Sitta leucopsis*). *D. himalayensis* is the only one of the pied woodpeckers I have seen here. *D. brunneifrons* must also occur in the valley, and *Jynx picus nanus* has been procured by Capt. Stackhouse Pimrill at Dharmzala.

98. *Gecinys squamatus*. The Scaly-bellied Green Woodpecker. Seen at various elevations from the mountain forests to the groves near Srinagar; has a loud, cackling call. This is the only *Gecinys* that I have observed, but its relation, *G. occipitalis*, the Black-naped Green Woodpecker, is also doubtless to be found in the Kashmir forests.

Sub-Family JYNGINAE - Wrynecks

99. *Jynx torquilla*. The Common Wryneck. Is pretty frequent in Kashmir in spring and summer. I have seen it in the Munshi bagh, in many parts of the valley, and in several of the side Nalas, though never at any great elevation.

Order PSITTACIFORMES - Parrots

100. *Palaeornis schisticeps*. The Slaty-headed Parrakeet. This is the only parrot I have seen in Kashmir, and it is not very common. The Pir Panjal side of the valley probably holds most, but I have seen it in the Sind and Liddar glens, and in autumn it plunders the walnut groves at Atawat, and it has been shot in the Lolab. Breeds in holes in trees and has a cheerful, pleasant note, enlivening the woodland corries it frequents. The slaty blue on the head comes after the first moult. It is easily tamed and is gentle and affectionate; one I brought up would follow me round the garden, climb up my clothes, and sit on my shoulder. He learnt to talk in a few months, practising when alone, and it was only by accident I found out the proficiency at which he had arrived. I have never seen it in Kashmir later than October. General plumage green, tail blue and yellow.

Order PASSERIFORMES - Perching Birds

Family CORVIDAE - Crows

101. *Corvus corax*. The European Raven. True ravens are rare in Kashmir, and I conclude that the few seen must be of this species. I had always thought that *C. tibetanus*, the Tibet Raven, must be the one we see here; but I am now informed on good authority that the Tibet Raven only arrives at Leh during the autumn, from the high plateaux of Tibet (where it breeds and passes the summer), and that it is never known to come from the direction of Kashmir. The bird we have here, therefore, must be *C. corax*, which is very common in the north Panjab in winter.

102. *Corone Corone*. The European Carrion Crow. May be seen on the *jheels* near the Wular lake in the winter, together with his poaching *confrère* the Hooded Crow, *C. sharpii*, both, probably, on the look out for wounded wild-fowl.

103. *Corone sharpii*. The Eastern Hooded Crow. Is found as above stated. Both species are more common in Kashmir than in the Panjab, where they are look on as a great prize by collectors. Dr. Bowdler Sharpe, of the British Museum, states that in Scotland and other places in Europe the two species of crows interbreed, and the young are patterned like the Hooded Crow, but are smudged with black on the mantles and breast. Both have the same peculiar, rather shrill "caw".

104. *Corone macrorhyncha*. The Jungle Crow. Very common in the forests and mountain margs. Round one's camp his hoarse voice is ever present, he is always "in at the death" of a stag or bear, and I believe he will follow a stalk in hope of profiting by the result. In the cooler months he may be found round towns and villages in the valley. One once carried off out of a cage a young blackbird (*Merula castanea*), which I had found away from its nest, and was trying to rear. *Corvus intermedius*, Adams, has been described as "smaller than *C. corone* and not larger than the Indian Jackdaw (*C. splendens*), abundant on the mountains round the valley of Kashmir". I have not observed it in Kashmir myself and Oates unites *C. intermedius* with *C. macrorhynchus*.

105. *Corone splendens*. The Indian House-Crow. This well-known pest, with his thoroughly inappropriate Latin title, is, unfortunately, much more common at Srinagar and the towns on the Jhelum now than formerly, and has thus obtained a right to a place among the birds of Kashmir.

106. *Trypanecorax frugilegus*. The Rook. May generally be seen feeding in flocks in the fields in autumn and early winter. Later on it makes its way to Hazara and the Northern Panjab, where immense numbers congregate in winter. I do not believe that it breeds here.

107. *Coloeus collaris*. The White-necked Jackdaw. Very

common indeed all over the valley. Breeds in holes in trees, walls, etc. The eggs are pale blue-green, with dark brown spots, and are capital eating. I have seen them served in mistake for plover's eggs at a garden-party in Srinagar. Roosts in great numbers in the palace at Srinagar, the island on the Wular lake, and elsewhere. Some must migrate to the North Panjab, where large flocks are seen in the winter.

108. *Nucifraga multipunctata*. The Many Spotted Nutcracker. Is very common in the Kashmir forests, generally seen singly, but sometimes in groups of two or three; has a loud, harsh, grating cry, constantly repeated; frequents the tops of pine trees. It seems to have a good deal of curiosity in its composition, hanging round the spot where it sees any one sitting quietly in the forest, watching, and uttering its discordant cry.

Oates records the Himalayan Jay (*Garrulus bispecularis*) from Eastern Kashmir, but neither of the two species of jays found in the Himalayas have ever, to my knowledge, been seen in Kashmir. I will therefore pass on to the genus *Urocissa*, which is allied to them.

109. *Urocissa cucullata*. The Yellow-billed Blue Magpie. This handsome bird, with its blue and white plumage, and long tail-feathers, is pretty common in the Kashmir forests, up to 7,000 or 8,000 feet elevation. It has a loud, ringing call, often repeated. Once when I was waiting over a goat that had been killed by a bear, two blue magpies kept up an incessant chattering over a thicket close by, from which, when it grew darker, the bear walked out straight up to the carcass. No doubt the magpies had watched him from the first.

110. *Pica Pica*. The Magpie. "Said by Biddulph to be at all times common in Kashmir". He found its nest on two occasions (cf. Oates, *Faun. Brit. Ind. Birds*, i, p. 25).

111. *Dendrocitta rufa*. The Common Indian Magpie. Is fairly common in the valley, frequenting groves and gardens. I have generally seen it in autumn. It has a great variety of notes, some harsh, and others softer, clear, and metallic.

Sub-Family FREGILINAE - Choughs

112. *Graculus Graculus*. The Red-billed Chough. Is common on the higher mountains, generally above the forest line, in flocks and detached parties; has a clear resonant call. Plumage black; bill and feet bright red, which characters distinguish it from the next species. Some migrate to the plains in winter.

113. *Pyrhocorax Pyrrhocorax*. The Alpine Chough. Is found in similar localities to the above species, and the two may be seen on the same hill-side. It occasionally descends to the lower valleys, and the natives say that it eats mulberries; but as a rule it remains at high elevations. Is found in Europe on the Alps and Apennines (Jerdon, vol ii, p. 370). Glossy black; bill yellow; feet bright red. Call, much the same as that of the Red-billed species. Kashmir shikaris say that these two choughs are *Halal* as food.

Family STURNIDAE - Starlings

114. *Sturnus humii*. The Himalayan Starling (Kashmíri, *Tsinihagoor*). Found all over the valley, breeding in holes of trees, buildings, etc. Eggs pale azure blue. Out of the breeding season large flocks congregate to roost in trees near swamps. A number remain in the winter, but there is a large migration to India at that season. Plumage glossy black with a pale whity-brown tip to each feather; feathers of black lanceolate. Young bird dull brown; bill brown at first, changing to yellow in the breeding season. Legs yellow-brown. Length about 9 inches, wings 5 inches, tail 3 inches.

115. *Sturnus porphyronotus*. The Central-Asian Starling. Has the rump reddish like the back. The wing is coppery bronze, and is over five inches in length. A specimen is in the British Museum from Kashmir, and doubtless the species migrates to India through the valley, with other species of starlings (cf. Oates, *Faun. Brit. Ind. Birds*, i, p. 521).

116. *Sturnus menzbieri*. The Common Indian Starling. Distinguished by having a purple head, purple ear-coverts, and a purple throat. Breeds in Siberia, and winters plentifully in India. Hume believes that it breeds also in Kashmir, and specimens in his

collection from our country show that it either nests or at least passes through on migration.

117. *Acridotheres tristis*. The Common Myna. Very common in the valley, not ascending the higher glens.

Family DICRURIDAE - Drongos

118. *Dicrurus longicaudatus*. The Indian Ashy-Drongo. Dr. Adams says that this species is common in Kashmir, where he has often found the nest. It is not, in my opinion, very common, and is rare in the valley proper. The side valleys and lower forests contain a good many. It may be known by its close general resemblance to the well-known King-crow (*Dicrurus ater*) of India, from which it differs in not having the white spot at the gape.

Family ORIOLIDAE - Orioles

119. *Oriolus kundoo*. The Indian Oriole, "Mango bird" of India, *Poshnul* of Kashmir. Arrives here at the end of April and remains throughout the summer. Its rich yellow and black colouring, and pleasant, mellow whistle are easily recognizable. I have seen it up to about 7,000 feet elevation. Builds in trees, suspending or binding its nest in a fork; eggs three or four, white with dark spots. The nest is most ingeniously fixed with strips of rag, long grass, and twine, etc., worked in and out and bound round with supporting branch.

Family FRINGILLIDAE - Finches

120. *Pycnorhamphus icterioides*. The Black and Yellow Grosbeak. Common in the forests up to 9,000 feet or higher. Has a short sharp twittering call, often repeated. Male - head, neck, wings, and tail black, rest of plumage bright yellow. Female - olivaceous grey; rump, quills, and tail black; bill pale greenish yellow, thick and massive, 1 inch long at front. Length 9 inches.

121. *Mycerobas melanoxanthus*. The Spotted-winged Grosbeak. Male - head and entire upper parts dull slaty black, beneath pale

yellow, a conspicuous white wing-sport. Female - smaller, upper parts as in the male, but a yellow eyebrow and some pale yellow on head and back, also on cheeks; beneath yellow spotted with black; general appearance, more spotted than in the male.

The bill is enormously thick, as deep as long, plumbeous in colour. Length of bird $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Is found in our Kashmir forests, but much rarer than the last species. Frequents the tops of the highest trees, and has a plaintive clear whistle, audible from a considerable distance, and also a sort of chattering note. Is very fond of the fruit of the bird-cherry, the stones of which it cracks.

122. *Pyrrhula aurantiaca*. The Orange Bullfinch. This charming bird is well represented in some parts of Kashmir. I have seen it in the Wardwan, in Wangat, in the Bandipura glen, in woods just across the Sat Saran Pass, and most numerous at Sonamarg. Male - reddish orange, with black wings, face, and tail, white tail-coverts. Female - ashy and black. Has a sweet soft whistle, also a pleasant chirrup. Is very tame, sitting close to one on a tree, and feeding at the door of one's tent. On one occasion, while having a *chota hazari* before sunrise, two or three quite entered my tent and hopped about close to my feet.

123. *Pyrrhula erythrocephala*. The Red-headed Bullfinch. Found in Southern Kashmir (cf. Oates, *Faun. Brit. Ind. Birds*, i, p. 205).

124. *Propasser rhodochrons*. The Pink-browed Rose Finch. Has been found at Dharmasala (cf. Oates, *l.c.*, p. 217). Breeds at high altitudes, and descends in winter to lower elevations.

125. *Carpodacus erythrinus*. The Common Rose Finch. Is not uncommon in Kashmir, frequenting fields, groves, and cultivation. General plumage brown, tinged ruddy; head, throat, breast, and rump, rosy crimson.

126. *Carduelis caniceps*. The Himalayan Goldfinch (Kashmíri, *Sera*). Found in flocks in the valley in spring and winter, and in the higher glens in summer. I found the nest on the Takht-i-Suliman in May, placed on the ground under the edge of a stone. It was made of grass and moss, lined with fine grass and hair, and

contained five eggs, ashy-white, lined and mottled with purplish-dusky. Has a pleasant note and is easily tamed.

127. *Hypacanthis spinoides*. The Himalayan Greenfinch. Plumage yellow and olive-brown. Is seen in flocks in all mountain glens, and near woods and cultivation. Is not so common in the valley proper as the Goldfinch.

128. *Collacanthis Burtoni*. The Red-browed Finch. I have seen this species at Gulmarg, in the Sind valley, Bandipura, and elsewhere, always in fir forests, and at from 8,000 to 10,000 feet elevation, and have examined it carefully through a glass at from 10 to 50 yards' distance, on several occasions, and seen it feeding on the ground within a few feet of my tent door. It is a bird of quiet habits, and I have not heard its note; it associates in small flocks of four to six, but is sometimes seen in pairs. Found in June, July, August, and October. The Kashmiris say that it comes lower down in winter, but I have never seen it out of the upper forests.

129. *Metoponia pusilla*. The Gold-fronted Finch. Breeds in Kashmir at heights of from 5,000 to 10,000 feet, according to season (cf. Oates, t.c, p. 231). It may be found in the valley in winter.

130. *Passer indicus*. The Indian House-Sparrow. Very common and familiar all over the valley. Differs only from the European house-sparrow in its purer colours.

131. *Passer cinnamomeus*. The Cinnamon Tree-Sparrow. Found round mountain hamlets; in tree copses, and forest glades up to quite 9,000 feet elevation, and often quite away from the haunts of man. It is much quieter than *P. indicus*, and is seen in fewer numbers. General plumage above cinnamon rufous; some dark marks on back; a black patch on throat; beneath yellowish light-grey. Length $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Sub-Family EMBERIZINAE - Buntings

132. *Emberiza leucocephala*. The Pine Bunting. Found in Kashmir in winter, but not so common as the next species;

elevation 6,000 to 9,000 feet. The top of the head is white in the male, greyish in the female. Jerdon gives the length at 6 to 6½ inches. I found a male to measure 7½ inches.

133. *Emberiza Stracheyi*. The Eastern Meadow Bunting. Very common in Kashmir. Frequents open bushy ground, edges of woods, and cultivation, etc.; elevation 5,500 to 9,000 feet.

134. *Emberiza Stewarti*. The White-capped Bunting. Common in the valley, about fields and bushes, and in the mountains up to 9,000 feet.

135. *Emberiza arcuata*. The Kashmir Grey-headed Bunting. Frequents bushes, fields, and open lands. I obtained it in the Nowboog Valley, and have seen it elsewhere in Kashmir.

Family ALAUDIDAE - Larks

136. *Ammomanes phoenicuroides*. The Desert Finch Lark. Is found in the Kashmir Valley and on open slopes at the base of the hills. Length about 6 inches. Feet yellow-brown. Theobald records it.

137. *Melanocorypha bimaculata*. The Eastern Calandra Lark. (*Jall* in Kashmiri). Bill convex, very stout; length about 7½ inches, wing 4½ inches, tail 4½ inches (Jerdon's *Birds of India*, vol. ii, p. 427). General plumage lark-like, lighter underneath, with a conspicuous black-brown crescent-shaped mark on the upper breast. Has a very sweet song, and is kept caged by natives as a song-bird. Stated to be numerous in the valley in winter, when the natives catch them in snow-time by placing a piece of matting on the snow with some rice spread on it. The larks descend to eat the rice, and are caught in horsehair nooses which are secured to the matting. A newly-caught bird sells for two to four annas, but a well-trained songster will fetch ten or twelve British rupees. My informant mentioned a Pathan who refused fifty shilling for a *Jall* he had brought from Ghuznee. The bird's voice is improved by feeding him on a pulse pounded up in *ghee*. In the summer the birds retire to more northern localities to breed.

138. *Otocoris longirostris*. The Long-billed Horned Lark. I have not myself noticed this lark in Kashmir, but it is found on the higher elevations.

139. *Alauda gulgula*. The Indian Skylark (*Dedar* of Kashmir). Very abundant in the valley in spring, summer, and autumn. Its general aspect and song are well known. Is kept by the natives as a song-bird. I once timed a lark as it sprang from the ground and soared singing upward till almost out of sight. From the start till the return to the ground the time occupied was fifteen minutes; a wonderful muscular and vocal effort for such a small bird.

Family MOTACILLIDAE - Wagtails

140. *Motacilla Hodgsoni*. Hodgson's Pied Wagtail. This I believe to be the species which is very common in Kashmir both in summer and winter. In the latter season, they collect in small flocks to rout in the grass and reeds of some quiet swamp or pool. *M. personata* and *M. alba* doubtless pass through on migration.

141. *Motacilla melanope*. The Grey Wagtail. More common in the hills than the last species. I have seen it up to 8,000 feet, and also in the valley.

142. *Motacilla beema*. The Indian Blue-headed Wagtail. Passes through Kashmir on migration (cf. Oates, t.c, p. 297).

143. *Motacilla citeoloides*. Hodgson's Yellow-headed Wagtail. Very common on the weedy lakes and swamps in Kashmir, where it may be seen running over the water-lily leaves, etc., also frequents marshy streams and ditches. Its yellow and black summer plumage makes it easily distinguishable.

144. *Anthus similis*. The Brown Rock Pipit. Obtained on the open slopes at the foot of the hills near Pandratan on May 23, 1894. The general colouring and dimensions; the arrangement of the quills, and the oblique tipping of the outermost tail-feathers, together with the well-curved hind claw, correspond almost exactly with Jerdon's description of *A. sordida* (*Birds of India*, vol. ii, p. 236), but the bill seemed to be one-fifth to one-fourth of an inch

longer. Blyth got it in the N.W. Himalayas, and Mr. Theobald found it in the Alpine Panjab, and we may now assign it a place among Kashmir birds. Shot at about 5,3000 feet elevation. Length 8 inches, wing $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, tail $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, bill at front $\frac{1}{2}$ inch to $\frac{5}{16}$ inch, tarsus $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches, hind toe and claw $\frac{15}{16}$ inch, first primary minute, second, third, fourth and fifth quills subequal and longest.

145. *Anthus rosaceus*. Hodgson's Pipit. Found on the lower slopes of the Himalayas from Kashmir to Assam (cf. Oates, t.c, p. 311).

Family CERTHIIDAE - Creepers

146. *Certhia himalayana*. The Himalayan Tree-creeper. Is common in the forests, and in spring and autumn may be seen in groves and orchards in the valley and in the higher forests.

147. *Certhia Hodgsoni*. Hodgson's Tree-creeper. Occurs sparingly in the pine-woods near the snows (cf. Oates, op. cit. i, p. 330).

148. *Tichodroma muraria*. The Wall-creeper. Is often seen in Kashmir in autumn and winter. I have not observed it in summer. Frequents rocky hill sides, clay banks and cliffs. Its bright crimson wing-patch, only seen when the bird is flying, makes it very beautiful as it flits from rock to rock. Feeds on insects.

149. *Sitta leucopsis*. The White-cheeked Nuthatch. Is very common in the mountain forests, frequenting the tops of the highest firs and pines. Its cry, resembling the bleat of a small kid, is one of the commonest sounds in a Kashmir forest.

150. *Sitta cashmiriensis*. Brooks' Nuthatch. Is also found in Kashmir, though not so often as the species above noted.

Family PARIDAE - Titmice

151. *Lophophanes dichrous*. The Crested Brown Tit. Adams obtained it and entered it in his list of Birds of Kashmir.

152. *Lophophanes melanolophus*. The Crested Black Tit. Adams records it, and I have seen it myself in the Kashmir forests.

153. *Parus atriceps*. The Indian Grey Tit. Common; is sometimes very tame. While staying at Gulmarg in 1890 with a friend, one frequented our mess-tent, coming close to the breakfast-table and eating small crumbs, and roosting at night under the fringe of the pardah, inside the tent, without minding the lamps, talking at dinner, etc.

154. *Parus monticola*. The Green-backed Tit. Throughout the Himalayas from Kashmir to Bhutan (cf. Oates, op. cit. i, p. 50).

155. *Aegithaliscus niveigularis*. The White-throated Tit. "I have examined specimens obtained at Gulmarg." (Oates, t.c, p. 52.)

156. *Sylviparus modestus*. The Yellow-browed Tit. "Throughout the Himalayas from Kashmir to Bhutan." (Oates, t.c, p. 54)

Sub-Family LANIIDAE - True Shrikes

157. *Lanius erythronotus*. The Rufous-backed Shrike. Is the only true shrike I have seen here. It arrives at the end of March, disappearing again in autumn; ascends to about 6,500 feet. It is a wonderful mocking bird; I have heard it imitate the Black Partridge, Kestrel, Reed-Warbler, Wattled lapwing, and Skylark most successfully.

Family SYLVIIDAE

158. *Acrocephalus stentoreus*. The Indian Great Reed-Warbler (Kashmīri, *Karkat*). Is very numerous in the long reeds in the lakes, and along the banks of rivers where tall grass or weeds exist, from April to August; has a harsh note, "Prit, Prit, Pritik", continually repeated.

159. *Tribura major*. The Large-billed Bush-Warbler. In summer this species is found throughout Kashmir (cf. Oates, op. cit. i, p. 363).

160. *Sylvia althaea*. Hume's Lesser White-throated Warbler. Breeds in Kashmir at an elevation of 9,000 feet, and winters in the plains of India.

161. *Sylvia affinis*. The Indian Lesser White-throated Warbler. Brooks found this Warbler breeding in Kashmir at a height of from 5,500 to 6,000 feet amongst small bushes in May by the side of rivers (cf. Oates, t.c, p. 398).

162. *Phylloscopus Tytleri*. Tytler's Willow-Warbler. Summers in the higher elevations of the Himalayas, from Kashmir to Kumaon. Winters in the lower portions of the same mountains, and also descends into the Peninsula (cf. Oates, t.c, p. 402).

163. *Phylloscopus tristis*. The Brown Willow-Warbler. Summers in the higher portions of the Himalayas in Kashmir (cf. Oates, t.c, p. 403).

164. *Phylloscopus indicus*. The Olivaceous Willow-Warbler. Breeds in Kashmir, visiting the plains in winter (cf. Oates, t.c, p. 404).

165. *Phylloscopus subviridis*. Brooks' Willow-Warbler. Breeds in Kashmir (cf. Oates, t.c, p. 409).

166. *Acanthopneuste nitida*. The Green Willow-Warbler. Probably breeds in Kashmir. Winters in the Indian Peninsula (cf. Oates, t.c, p. 413).

167. *Acanthopneuste trochiloides*. Blyth's Crowned Willow-Warbler. Observed in summer in the Himalayas from Kashmir to Sikhim, and probably wintering in the lower valleys (cf. Oates, t.c, p. 419).

168. *Cryptolopha xanthoschista*. Hodgson's Grey-headed Flycatcher Warbler. From Nepal to Kashmir (cf. Oates, t.c, p. 425). Pretty common in woods and copses in the forests up to 8,000 feet.

169. *Horornis pallidus*. The Pale Bush-Warbler. Breeds in Kashmir (cf. Oates, t.c, p. 437).

170. *Suya crinigera*. The Brown Hill-Warbler. Occurs throughout the Himalayas from Kashmir to Bhutan (cf. Oates, t.c, p. 445).

171. *Prinia inornata*. The Indian Wren-Warbler. Is said to occur in the valley.

Family TURDIDAE - Thrushes

172. *Henicurus maculatus*. The Spotted Fork-tail. Is pretty common on smaller hill streams in Kashmir, particularly on those wooded banks and occasional waterfalls. General plumage spotted black and white. Very conspicuous as it flits in front of you up the bed of a watercourse, uttering its pleasant, clear, metallic whistle of one note. Length 10 inches.

173. *Microcichla Scouleri*. The Little Fork-tail. Seen on the larger streams; not so common as *H. maculatus*. Jerdon states that it often contends with the Plumbeous Water-Robin (Red-start), *Rhyacornis fuliginosa*, for a choice perch on a rock, and is generally vanquished by the latter. I can vouch for this from personal observation.

174. *Pratincola maura*. The India Bush-Chat. Common in spring and summer in the valley, and on the lower slopes; goes to India in winter.

175. *Saxicola montana*. Gould's Wheatear. Found in summer on open plateaux, at from 7,000 to 9,000 feet elevation; not very common.

176. *Rhyacornis fuliginosa*. The Plumbeous Redstart. The name explains the colour of this little fellow. He has a rusty red tail which he expands and flirts while sitting on a rock in some roaring hill torrent. He is common on all mountain streams up to 7,000 feet elevation, and is very pugnacious in defending a favourite rock against other intruders.

177. *Chimorrornis leucocephala*. The White-capped Redstart.

Also very universal on Kashmir streams and torrents. The handsome plumage of black and rich chestnut with the white cap make it easily identified. It is very restless, flitting from rock to rock over the water and constantly uttering a short, clear, metallic whistle.

178. *Ruticilla frontalis*. The Blue-fronted Redstart. From Gilgit and Kashmir to Assam (cf. Oates, t.c, p. 92).

179. *Ruticilla erythronota*. Eversmann's Redstart. A winter visitor to every portion of Kashmir (cf. Oates, t.c, p. 94).

180. *Ianthia rufilata*. The Red-flanked Bush-Robin. Found in the forests up to 7,000 or 8,000 feet. Blue above, bright rufous beneath, with white eyebrow. Not very common.

181. *Cyanecula suecica*. The Indian Bluethroat. I have seen this bird at the end of March and in April. Its quiet, pale brown plumage is prettily relieved by the bright sky-blue on the throat and upper breast; it frequents low shrubs and bushes at the foot of the lower hills. The female has the breast dull white with some darkish sports edging it.

182. *Tharrhaleus Jerdoni*. Jerdon's Accentor. Has been found breeding near Sonamarg by Capt. Cock, and is probably found in many districts of Kashmir.

There are doubtless other species of Accentors to be found in Kashmir, as several occur in Gilgit.

183. *Petrophila cyanus*. The Blue Rock Thrush. I have seen this rock thrush pretty often on low rocky hills in summer. A pair or two are generally to be seen on the Takht-i-Suliman at Srinagar, where I am certain that they breed, though I never, after patient watching, was able to find their nest. Disappears from Kashmir in winter.

184. *Petrophila cinclorhyncha*. The Blue-headed Rock Thrush. I have only seen this thrush at Palgam in the Liddar valley, where it frequented a pine wood in which I was camped during May, June, and July.

185. *Mercula unicolor*. The Dusky Ground Thrush. ("The Song Thrush of Kashmir", Adams; Kashmíri, *Kao kumr.*) Is very common all over the valley, frequenting chenar groves, garden, etc. The song may be heard from April till July, and the bird seen hopping on the turf in search of worms, etc. It sings at all hours of the day, and particularly in the morning and evening, and on cloudy days with rain impending. Adams compares the note to that of the blackbird but it is far more like that of the English thrush (*Turdus musicus*), though less full and varied.

186. *Merula maxima*. The Central Asian Blackbird. "I have examined specimens of this blackbird from Kashmir." (Oates, t.c, p. 124.)

187. *Merula bouboul*. The Grey-winged Blackbird. Is rare in Kashmir; called *Kastura* by natives. It has a full rich melodious song, very like that of the English blackbird, to which it has a great resemblance, excepting in the grey bar it possesses on the quills and great wing coverts; it fetches a high price as a song-bird.

188. *Merula castanea*. The Grey-headed Ouzel. This handsome thrush is fairly common, especially in the hills on the south and south-east side of the valley. The song is uttered generally in the evening, as the bird sits on the summit of some tall fir-tree, and is very charming, being the nearest Himalayan resemblance to the note of our English song-thrush. The bird being apparently little known to Englishmen in Kashmir, I give a short description. Male - head ashy white, darker on crown, lighter on throat and neck; general colour light chestnut or rufous, darker on back and brighter below; wings and tail blackish. The female has colours less intense and more brownish, chin and throat nearly white; bill, eyelids, and legs yellow; length 10½ inches. Is found in summer at Gulmarg, and I have heard it singing at Dandwar in early April, while the snow yet lay deep in the forests. Breeds in May and June, often placing the nest in the lower branches of a (Budil) fir-tree (*Abies Webbia*). Lays four or five eggs, greenish blue, thickly mottled with brown.

189. *Merula atrogularis*. The Black-throated Ouzel. Quite common in early spring, in the valley and willow groves and

orchards, and again in late autumn about low hills with bushy jungle. Also in early autumn in the upper hill forests. I have never seen it in summer, and know not where it breeds. I have seen it occasionally in winter.

190. *Turdus pilaris*. The Fieldfare. Is tolerably common in forests, and I have seen it, in flocks of twenty or more, above the forest level, perching on rocks, also round the skirts of open *margs* and forest clearings. Is generally shy and wary, and may be known by its low, husky note, "Tirr-r", repeated as it flies from tree to tree. It is very good eating. Adams records it in Kashmir. I have only seen it in summer and autumn in the hills.

191. *Myiophonus Temminckii*. The Yellow-billed Whistling Thrush. Common on hill streams, and about copses and gardens, etc. Has a loud, clear, musical whistle, and shares with *Merula bouboul* the name of *Kastura* among the natives. It is sometimes called "Blackbird" by Englishmen. Colour black, with smalt-blue gloss. Nests on rocks overhanging some roaring torrent, and under bridges, breeding in May and June. Migrates to the lower Indian hills in winter. I have heard it sing at all seasons of the year.

Family CINCLIDAE - Dippers

192. *Cinclus asiaticus*. The Brown Dipper. Found along running streams, flying along their courses. It plunges into the water or sometimes walks in deliberately and remains below the surface from some time searching for larvae and water insects. Is found at lower elevations than the next species.

193. *Cinclus Kashmíriensis*. The White-breasted Asiatic Dipper. Jerdon writes: "This bird is only found in the streams of the higher mountain ranges in Kashmir, whence it was brought by Dr. Adams." I have seen it in such localities. Once, on reaching the edge of a small tarn lying at the eastern foot of the *Kotwal* peak, over 14,000 feet elevation, I saw the water circling as if a fish had just risen, and while I was watching for another rise, a Dipper emerged and, seeing me, flew off down the little stream which runs from the lake down-hill towards Boorphrao in the Sind valley.

Family TROGLODYTIDAE - Wrens

194. *Anorthura neglecta*. The Kashmir Wren. Adams saw this species "among stony places, in glens, and round the margins of avalanches on the Kashmir ranges; common". I have seen the bird in lower localities, in bushes and low shrub, etc. It is very like the English wren in its ways.

Family TIMELIIDAE - Babbling Thrushes

195. *Trochalopteron simile*. The Western Variegated Laughing Thrush. It is tolerably common up to 7,000 or 8,000 feet, frequenting bushy coverts and copses on the edges of forests. Has a noisy but cheerful whistling note, often repeated.

196. *Ianthocincla rufogularis*. The Rufous-chinned Laughing Thrush. Found in hill-side thickets and woods in Kashmir up to 8,000 or 9,000 feet. Has a low chattering note, much uttered just before it roosts for the night.

197. *Trochalopteron lineatum*. The Streaked Laughing Thrush. Common in Kashmir, in gardens, etc., and on bushy hill-sides. Remains here in winter.

Family PYCNONOTIDAE - Bulbuls

198. *Otocompsa leucogenys*. The White-cheeked Crested Bulbul. A permanent resident in the valley, but not ascending the higher glens. Very common and exceedingly tame and impudent, entering boats and houses freely. I have seen one perch on the sugar-basin and steal the sugar within a couple of feet of me. Nests in low trees and bushes; eggs white, with purplish speckles. It is a great pest in gardens and orchards, destroying buds and fruit.

Family CAMPOPHAGIDAE - Cuckoo-Shrikes

199. *Pericrocotus brevirostris*. The Short-billed Minivet ("Raja bird" of Europeans in India). It is often seen in the hill forests, and sometimes at lower elevations, flying from tree to tree in flocks, where the bright scarlet and black of the males and yellow and grey

of the females show most brilliantly in the sunlight. Has a pleasant, low-toned, twittering note. Migrates to the plains and lower hills in winter.

Family MUSCICAPIDAE - Flycatchers

200. *Stoparola melanops*. The Verditer Flycatcher. Is found occasionally in wooden glens and groves. Its light blue colouring is very conspicuous.

201. *Hemichelidon sibirica*. The Sooty Flycatcher. Permanent resident in Kashmir, breeding in June.

202. *Siphia hyperythra*. The Indian Red-breasted Flycatcher. Spends the summer in Kashmir, and winters in Ceylon.

203. *Cyornis leucomelanurus*. The Slaty-blue Flycatcher. Breeds in Kashmir in the beginning of June, when the nest was found by Brooks.

204. *Cyornis superciliaris*. The White-browed Blue Flycatcher. Is by no means common, generally seen in woods and copses, at about 6,000 to 8,000 feet elevation; it is inclined to be tame, sitting close to one's tent on a branch, from which it darts at insects, returning each time to its perch. Adams noted it in Kashmir.

205. *Alseonax ruficauda*. The Rufous-tailed Flycatcher. Inhabits Kashmir in summer.

206. *Terpsiphone paradisi*. The Indian Paradise Flycatcher. Common in the valley, side glens and lower wooded slopes in summer, arriving in April. The male, during his first two years, is bright chestnut above and white below, assuming the pure white plumage in his third season. I have seen them chestnut, with the long tail-feather white; and white, with one tail-feather chestnut. The female is smaller, chestnut above, smoky white beneath, and the long tail-feathers are wanting. The nest is beautifully made of cobweb and grey moss, lined with hair, placed in a forked branch. Eggs five or six, white with reddish streaks.

Family HIRUNDINIDAE - Swallows

207. *Hirundo rustica*. The Common Swallow. Called *Katij* by the Kashmíris. Arrives as early as latter part of February, and is fully established in the country early in April.

208. *Chelidon Kashmíriensis*. The Kashmir House-Martin. Above black, with steel-blue reflections; tail brownish-black; throat, under surface, and rump, pure white; brownish on flanks; axillaries and beneath the shoulder dark brown. Dr. Adams found it abundant in Kashmir on the rocky banks of rivers.

The Common House-Martin also probably occurs in Kashmir, but I cannot at present identify several of the species of swallows. *Ptyonoprogne rupestris* and *Hirundo nepalensis* breed, in all probability.

REPTILES

Snakes are known in Kashmir as *Sarraf*, and I have met with snakes in every part of the valley. It is universally said that no poisonous snakes exist in parts of the valley from which the pak of Haramak can be seen. There are two poisonous snakes; one is called *Gunas*, and is found in the Sind valley, the other is known as *Pohur*, and is met with on the east of the Liddar valley. The natives say that when the *Pohur* is old hairs appear on its back. The bite of the *Gunas* and *Pohur* is said to be usually fatal¹, and I

¹Colonel Unwin writes: "I have only seen one 'Pohur' since I have known Kashmir, and this was on a spur above 'Kollur', in the Liddar valley. He tried to bite my shikari, who, however, killed him. The man was very agitated, saying that he had escaped the bite of the most deadly snake in Kashmir. It was about two feet long, thick, and of a dark brown colour, with long poison fangs. The Kashmíris tell wonderful stories of the *Pohur*, saying he springs on you from a distance, etc. I believe it to be deadly. Natives in Hazara have died from the bite of a snake exactly resembling the *Pohur* I saw at Kollur. The *Gunas* is common, and varies from twelve or fifteen to thirty inches in length. General colour: above dusky grey, with a brownish angular pattern along the back; beneath dark grey. Natives say they grow to three or four *traks* in weight. The bite of a large one may be deadly; but I have

lost one of my surveyors who was bitten by a *Gunas* at Sonamarg. Dr. Elmslie writes of the *Gunas*: "It is a poisonous, round-headed, short, thick serpent found on the mountains of Kashmir. It is said to be black on the back and yellowish on the belly. It is a foot and a half long and ash-coloured according to some natives. Its bite is often fatal. When a person is stung on the arm or leg a ligature is applied between the heart and the wound, which is besmeared with foam. The patient has arrack and conserve of roses given him to eat, while music is played to cheer him up. This is the native treatment of serpent bites. The *Gunas* is said to be numerous in the Lar pargana. Serpents are seldom seen on the southern side of the valley."

Lizards (*kauklat*) and frogs (*ningi mundak*) are common, and on the slopes of the mountains the scorpion (*bich*) is frequently found. The Kashmiri scorpions are not very venomous, and the people look on the sting of a scorpion with indifference. Centipedes up to five inches long are found.

INSECTS

Flies and sandflies abound, but the great pest of the low-lying parts of the valley is the mosquito. I have never seen mosquitoes in India so abundant as they are on the Jhelum river below Srinagar and on the lakes. They swarm, and in the evenings in camp, it is necessary to sit in the fumes of dung fires if one wishes to escape the persistent mosquito (*muh*). Though they seem to be more numerous in Kashmir than in India, I think that they are less venomous, and the bite of the mosquito of the valley is not so irritating as the bite of its Indian brother. Mosquitoes occur sometimes at a high elevation, and on the Rajdiangan pass, 11,800 feet, they often appear, and seem more vigorous and aggressive than they are in the more enervating climate of the valley. Fleas

seen several cases of terriers bitten by small *Gunas*, which all recovered, the dogs not seeming to suffer much. The bite was attended by a great deal of swelling about the head and neck in every case."

(*pish*), bugs (*tsar*), and other unpleasant insects are common, and the Kashmíris say that, though their native doctors have found a remedy for all diseases, they have failed to discover any specific for fleas. Ticks are very numerous, especially in the upper forests after the snow has melted, and the large green-headed gadfly is, in some upland margs, in July and August, most numerous and aggressive.

Locusts (*halu*) occasionally find their way to Kashmir, and in the year 1868 considerable damage was done to the rice crops by the locusts. Large swarms appeared in the beginning of the summer of 1891, but were happily diverted to the side valleys and perished on the snows, where their frozen bodies were greedily devoured by the bears. No damage was caused in 1891 to crops.

There is a caterpillar, known as *Moru* to the Kashmíris, which causes considerable loss to trees, especially the Wych Hazel. In a few days the *Moru* will leave a forest bare of leaves, but the damage caused is not permanent and the trees recover.

Among vegetable pests may be mentioned snails (*hangí*), leeches (*drik*), and a fish-like insect known as *Dadu*. These cause injury to the rice-plant. The leech used for blood-letting is imported from the Panjab.

The *darz* is a darkish grub which injures the roots of maize and cotton, and is one of the worst of our vegetable pests.

FISH

Fish forms an important item in the food of the Kashmíris, and those who dwell near the lakes; and the floating population of boatmen depend for a considerable part of their sustenance on the prey of their nets or lines. Fish are eaten fresh with oil or are dried without salt and kept for the winter. It has been suggested that the fecundity of the Kashmíri women is due to the fish and oil diet. At present it does not seem necessary to take any measures for the conservancy of fish, and the malpractices so common in India, such as the use of dynamite, are as far as I know unknown in Kashmir. I have heard no complaints of the diminution in the fish supply, and although prices have slightly increased the rate of 9 pice per seer, which is about one penny for 2 pounds, is not

excessive. On the death of Majaraja Gulab Singh the killing of fish was strictly prohibited for about six years, and even now no man may catch fish between the Amiran Kadal and the Zaina Kadal (the first and second of the city bridges). The right to fish is leased annually. The average amount realised by the State for the last three years is Rs. 2,000. The Rainbow trout of Canada, used to snow-water, might very easily be introduced into Kashmir, and the Telbal valley, when the waterworks reservoir is completed, would be a very suitable place for the experiment. Colonel Unwin also suggests that pike might be tried in the Dal and Manasbal lakes.¹

The following notes give the names of the principal fishes and much information on the subject.

Charri Gad. The average weight of this fish seems to be from 2 to 3 lbs; it is sold for 3 pice a seer. It has one dorsal and five ventral fins, a large mouth, dark spotted back, silver belly and a line along the side from near the eye to the tail; it has a soft scaleless skin. The *Charri Gad* is caught during the months of October and November.

Sattar Gad. The average weight of this is said to be half a seer, and it is sold at the same price as the *Charri Gad*, of which it seems to be a small variety. It has one dorsal and five ventral fins, silvery sides and mottled back, with a soft, scaleless skin. This fish is very plentiful, and caught at all seasons of the year.

Krout Gad. Average weight from half to three-quarters of a seer, same price. It has one dorsal and five ventral fins, which are of a pink colour, a dark back, yellowish-white belly and soft skin. This fish is said to live under stones and rocks, and is caught throughout the year; it seems to be of the same species as the *Charri* and *Sattar Gads*.

Pikut or Pekri Gad. Averages from 8 to 16 seers and is sold at the same price. It has a large mouth and is covered with scales, colour white; a scarce fish, in season from November to July.

Chash Gad. Average weight half to one seer; same price. This fish has a pointed head and small mouth, soft scaleless skin, white

¹ I would suggest that the 'Rainbow Trout' of Canada and America would be more suitable than the English trout, as being more used to snow-water. The ova of the 'Rainbow' is now, I believe, to be obtained in England. Pike might also be tried in the Dal and Manasbal lakes, and in the small detached lakes near Sumbal. - W.H.U.

colour. It is caught from December until March, but is very scarce.

Harj. Average weight half a seer or less; same price. One dorsal and five ventral fins, small mouth, dark back, silver belly, firm scales. In season October until May.

Ramah Gad. Average weight a chittak; sold at 2 pice a seer, colour dark green. This fish is taken in the Jhelum in June; when the water becomes cold, it retires to the lakes and morasses.

Unyour. Average weight, a chittak; sold at 2 pice a seer, colour black; season and habits the same as the Ramah Gad.

Tet Gad. Average weight, one chittak or less; sold at 2 pice a seer, dark colour; in season from August until October, when very small is known as *tet Gardu*. When the river falls this fish is caught in shallow basins and channels which are made in the sands on the banks of the streams.

Dras. Sold at a pice a seer; this fish is taken in August and September, it is doubtful if it is a separate species, being more probably a name given to any fry that comes to the net.

Ait Gad. A small white fish; sold at 2 pice per seer; it inhabits the smaller streams flowing into the Jhelum and is carried into the river when the waters are high.

All the fish enumerated in the above list are said to be caught in their seasons throughout the entire course of the Jhelum, between Islamabad and Baramula. In the month of June the Mahsir (Pairim Gad, or the Panjab fish) is taken at various places in the Jhelum below Srinagar. A small fish called the *Guran* inhabits the streams and morasses. In the Dal lake the Sattar Gad is taken with net and hook, and the Charri Gad and Ait Gad with hook only; all the fish inhabiting this lake are said to become of a dark green colour, which is attributed to the mass of vegetation, grass and weeds amid which they live.

In the Wular lake, the Sattar Gad and Charri Gad are taken in nets and also with hooks, the Pikut Gad with net only, and the Chash Gad and Harj with hook. Fish are also frequently speared in the water of this and other lakes.

In the Sind river, which also abounds with fish below Gaadarbal, are found the Sattar Gad, Chash Gad and Charri Gad, the latter species attaining a very great size. Consequent on the low temperature of the water of this river, the fish do not take readily except during the height of summer, the takes are then so

plentiful that during the mulberry season the fishermen are not uncommonly attracted from the Jhelum to its waters. The tame fish which fill the sacred pools at Mattanji, Vernag and elsewhere, seem to have no generic name, they are called *Nag*.

The month of March and the early spring is the most favourable fishing season in the Jhelum; in the winter months, from December until February, when the river is at its lowest, the fish betake themselves to Wular. Fishermen using the net (*zail bans*) form a distinct class from those getting a living by hook and line (*wail bans*). These latter use a long line, said to measure more than 1,000 yards, to which the hooks are attached at short intervals of less than a yard, and between each hook the line is weighted with a small stone or pebble.

During the months of December, January and February, worms are used as bait, and at other seasons of the year a paste which is usually made of barley flour.

The lines are immersed throughout their entire length, being fished up with a hooked pole; in the summer months the fisherman in a small boat, under-runs his line about every four hours, but in winter, when the fish are sluggish and do not bite readily, they are usually placed at night and taken up in the morning. The hooks, which are very neatly manufactured by the fishermen themselves, differ in substance and shape from those used in Europe. Iron being found to be too brittle they are made of brass, the end of the hook is carried straight down from the barb and bent back abruptly to the shank instead of being curved. It is claimed for this shape that it renders the escape of a fish that has once taken bait impossible.

From two or three traks a day seems to be an average take for a successful fisherman; fish, however, are sold at eight seers¹ to the trak.

Vigne in his notice of the fish of Kashmir remarks:

"I am aware of only six different kinds, of which by far the most common is Himalaya trout, and it varies so much in colour and appearance, according to its age and season and feeding-ground, that the natives would seem justified in trying to make me believe that there were several species instead of one. Unlike the true

¹The retail sellers of fish, however, give six seers to the trak, which is the ordinary trak weight.

trout, it rises rarely and very sluggishly at the fly. I tried fly-fishing in Kashmir until I found it an unprofitable employment. I remember that at Islamabad, some fish were brought to me that in colour more resembled the real trout than any I had seen, but I believe that they were only fish of the above-mentioned species. They vary also in size from one, two or three pounds in weight; and I was informed that there were a few in the lake far larger than any I saw. I have seen fish of a yellowish copper-colour, blotched with dark spots, caught in the lakes of Kashmir when out of season. The fish from the river are much better than those from the lake, but they are insipid when compared with the real European trout; this fish is also called the Sattar Gad; Gad signifies fish.

"I have seen what I believe to be the white mullet of India in the stream at Sopur Nagri on the Karywali of Zyn-i-gyr; but it is most probably found also in the Jhelum. There is also a little white fish, bluish on the hook, and somewhat resembling a bleak, called Chotur; its length is about six inches. There is another, I believe, called the Tatur Gad, in the lake and river about five inches long. There is also a fish much resembling the American cat-fish in shape and called the Aumur, its general colour is dusky olive, inclined to reeddish at the tail, it has three ventral and two dorsal fins, the eyes are nearly on the top of the head; a horny plate shaped like a horseshoe is continued between the gills to the mouth, and from it two feelers are projected at right angles, and there are also two worm-like appendages under the chin. Those I saw were very small, but it grows, I was informed, to three or four pounds' weight. Lastly, comes the Ram Gad, or fish of Ramah, which has been already mentioneed as being caught at the village of Sopur Nagri. The ground colour of this, I believe, new and singular fish is a reddish gold, fins reddish, its sides are covered with broad stripes of a very dark, dull, bottle-green colour; two worm-like appendages are pendant from the horn of the upper lip; a small, sharp spur, which it can erect and use as a weapon of offence, is situated close in front of the eye, and between it and the mouth, its curve being backwards and downwards, so that a straight line, if continued from its point, would cut the centre of the tail. It grows to about three-quarters of a pound. Fish forms a great proportion of the food of the poorer classes in the valley, or at least of those living near the lakes."

Walter Lawrence: *The Valley of Kashmir*

CHAPTER XVII

FLORA

In this chapter I shall only attempt to enumerate the plants and trees of the Kashmír valley and its mountains which possess some well-known economical value for the people, and even this limitation would not be sufficient to keep the chapter within the bounds required by this report, for the Kashmírís turn nearly every plant and tree to some use, and attribute medicinal properties to every growing thing. At the outset, I am met with the difficulty of classification. In the first place, it is not easy to decide whether certain plants should be noticed under agriculture or under the heading attached to this chapter.

Thus I have dealt with walnuts and with the water-chestnut in the chapter on agriculture, because these plants are subject to certain operations which are akin to cultivation. Next I have been uncertain as to whether the plants of Kashmír should not be classified according to their habitat or environment, and I thought that the valley might be divided into mountains, hilly country, plain, lakes and lagoons. But perhaps the easiest classification, and the one most ready for reference, will be found in grouping the various indigenous plants and trees under their several economic uses and properties, and in the following remarks I shall endeavour to adhere to this classification. Where possible their scientific nomenclature with their European and Kashmír synonyms will be given, the last in italics:

- | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Condiments | 8. Medicines |
| 2. Drugs | 9. Poisons |
| 3. Dyes and tans | 10. Scents |
| 4. Fibres | 11. Soap and Alkali |
| 5. Fodders | 12. Timber |
| 6. Foods and Fruits | 13. Yeast |
| 7. Hair-washes | 14. Adulterants. |

1. CONDIMENTS. The most important of the condiments is

Carum sp., the *zirah siyah*. This plant grows on the karewas of Kashmir when the land is cultivated with wheat and barley. It is a peculiar circumstance that the *zirah siyah* is not produced in any quantity unless the land is ploughed for cultivation. In former days *zirah siyah* was taxed, and the tax was farmed out to a contractor. The seeds of another umbelliferous plant (*Daucus Carota*), known in Kashmir as the *mor mujh*, are used as an adulterant for the real carraway of the *zirah siyah*. No attempt has ever been made to cultivate the *zirah siyah*.

2. DRUGS. *Cannabis indica* (*Bhang*). This plant grows in great profusion along the banks of the Jhelum and Vishau, and not long ago it was the custom to reserve the land on the river banks, for a distance of 15 yards on either side, for the growth of *bhāng*, and occasionally hemp seed was sown. The farm of the right to collect hemp drugs and hemp fibre once realised as much as Rs. 25,000, but at the present time the amount of hemp drugs made in Kashmir is very small, and the revenue from the hemp plant for the last five years has averaged Rs. 6,200. The Kashmiris usually speak of the drug manufactured in the valley from the hemp plant as *charras*, and it has been stated that *ganja* is not produced in Kashmir. It is also said that though the *charras* of the valley is inferior to the drug of Yarkand, it is superior to the *charras* of Bukhara and Kabul. But recent inquiries show that in the south of the valley the drug known as *gard bang* or *churu charras*, is extracted from the female plant, and Indians who consume it declare that it is real *ganja* and utterly distinct from the Yarkandi *charras*, which is also procurable in Srinagar. It is stated that the annual production of this so-called *ganja* is about 70 maunds, and that about 400 maunds of fibre are annually collected in the country below Srinagar. The consumption of hemp drugs in Kashmir is about equal to the local production. The Kashmiris do not use the hemp-plant leaves for smoking or drinking, but the preparation known as *majun* is eaten to some extent. If the Kashmiri drug is *ganja* and not *charras* it is somewhat surprising, and I have taken some pains to verify the statement made by the official who investigated the subject of hemp drugs. He and the men employed in the trade maintain that the drug made in Kashmir is *ganja*. I had always understood that *ganja* could not be obtained from the female plant after impregnation, but the female plant in Kashmir is impregnated and the hemp seed yield an oil

which, like *charras*, is used for intoxicating purposes.

Artemisia (*Tetwan*). This is a very common plant in Kashmír, and from its leaves is distilled a drug known as *ibsanin*, a name no doubt derived through the Arabic from the Greek *absintha*. Large quantities are exported to the Panjab. *Assafoetida* is not produced within the limits of Kashmír, but I found *Narthex Assafoetida* below Doian in the Astor Tahsil. I have procured plants for Dr. Aitchison with a view to experimental cultivation in Kashmír. As far as I know the *assafoetida* of commerce is not manufactured in Astor, but the natives use the fresh plant in cooking, and the milky juice which exudes from it gives forth the well-known odour of *assafoetida*, wholly unlike the pleasant celery smell of *Ferula Jaeschkeana*.

3. DYES AND TANS. The people are somewhat reticent on the subject of dyes used in the arts. In the days when the shawl trade flourished every factory employed a skilled dyer, who, by mixing the vegetable dyes of the country, produced colours of the softest tints. *Datisca cannabina*, *waft tanj* or *pat*, gives a yellow dye which was mixed with all colours save red and dark blue; *Rubia cordifolia* and its more common substitute *Geranium nepalense*, both known as *Mazait*, were mixed with rose, gold, and cream; *Pamb tsallan*, the wild rhubarb, was mixed for orange and gold; the pomegranate flowers and rind were mixed with red, gold, and black; *Ruhil*, mixed with other dyes, furnished a Khaki and black colour; *Mowwin* was mixed with an ashy grey. *Mallotus philippinensis*, *Kamila*, is said to be a product of Kashmír.

Brown dyes are obtained from the outer rind of the walnut and from the bark of a species of *Cotoneaster*. The fruits of the apricot and mulberry give characteristic dyes.

Among tanning materials may be mentioned the deodar, spruce, apricot, bark of alder and rind of pomegranate.

4. FIBRES. Kashmír is very rich in fibres, and the natives make great use of them. It is possible that as communications with India improve a trade in fibres may be developed, as every year sees a great waste of valuable fibre-yielding plants. The boatmen of Kashmír require ropes of good quality, and it is stated that for towing-ropes the cotton fibre is the best material. The following indigenous plants yield fibre for ropes and other purposes:

Iris ensata
Cannabis sativa

Krishm
Bhang

Carex sp.
Ulmus Wallisichiana

Fikal
Bren

Abutilon Avicennae	Yechkar	Celtis australis	
Rush	Vandil	Indigofera heterantha	Brimij
Typha sp.	Pits	Cotoneaster sp.	Kats
Betula utilis	Burza	Parrotia Jacquemontiana	Lun
Carex nubigena	Koin	Salix sp.	Poh
			Vir.

The *krishm*, or river bank iris, grows in great quantities along the river banks, and at a distance its mass of blue flowers resembles water in colour. The fibres are used for the manufacture of ropes which serve many purposes in agriculture. The fibre is not very durable.

The *bhāng* furnishes an excellent fibre, from which strong and durable ropes are made. The stems of the plant are used for wattled fences around gardens, and in the winter the open ends of the tops of the houses are shut with *bhāng* stems. In former days Kashmír was famous for its paper. For Korans and for superior paper the pulp of the *bhāng* fibre was always used.

The *yechkar* grows in low, damp, rich soil, and is an excellent fibre for ropes, mats, beds and *kiltas*. It is superior in some ways to the *bhāng* fibre as it resists the action of water. The fibre of *Abutilon Avicennae* is pronounced superior to Indian jute and finer than Manilla hemp.

The *vandil* (literally grocer's rush) is used for the manufacture of twine, and is used by shopkeepers to tie up parcels.

The *pits* is the swamp plant from which the excellent matting (*waggu*) of Kashmír is made. The Anchar lagoon, to the north of Srinagar, is the great home of the *pits*, though it is found in most of the swamps of Kashmír. All boats are roofed with the *pits* matting, and the mats are employed as coverings for floors and in numerous other ways. The industry of mat-making gives employment to a large number of the people. The villagers of Lasjan to the south of Srinagar are perhaps the best mat-makers in the valley.

The *burza*, or paper birch, grows at high elevations from 9,000 to 13,000 feet, and is of great importance to Kashmírís. The bark, known as *bhoj pattar*, is used to perform the duties of rough paper, and the roofs of all the better class of houses and of shrines are formed of birch bark on which a thick layer of earth is laid. The stems of *hookahs* are lined with it. Village shopkeepers always use it for writing-paper. Snuff, sugar and tea are wrapped up in *bhoj pattar*. Many of the old manuscripts are written on birch bark.

Art-ware sent down to India is usually packed in this useful substance, which is at once strong and impervious to water. This last quality renders it an admirable material for roofing, and it is much to be regretted that this useful tree is not protected from the destructive herdsmen. For extracting the bark an instrument like a tin opener is used. The operator cuts a vertical line in the tree which pierces seven coatings of bark, then two horizontal rings are cut and the bark is stripped off. It is said that if the incision is limited to seven layers the tree recovers and will again make new bark.

Koin grows along the banks of rice fields, and provides an excellent rope for agricultural purposes and also fibre for *chaplis*. The *koin* grass forms the bed on which the Kashmíri Hindu is ushered into the world and on which he dies.

Fikal is chiefly used for interlacing the stakes of irrigation weirs. It is able to stand the action of water.

The *bren*, or elm, gives from its young shoots an excellent fibre, rough but very strong and used for ropes.

The *kats* which flourishes in all parts of the valley, together with the *lun* and the *poh*, furnish in their pliant branches materials for the useful and universal *kilta* or creel and for wattle fences. The outer covering of the *kangar* or chauffemain of Kashmír is frequently made of *poh* or *luni*.

The *vir*, or willow, grows in every village of Kashmír where there is water or moisture, and its reproduction is very simple. There is an enormous waste of withies every year, as the young wands are cut down for fodder and after being stripped of their leaves are burnt for fuel. I have suggested that a Kashmíri should be sent to England to learn the basket industry. There is ample material in the valley to supply the whole of India with excellent baskets and chairs.

5. FODDER. The people of Kashmír depend very much for their comfort on milk and wool, and in the severe winter plough-and milk-cattle and sheep are penned in the byres which form the lower storey of the Kashmír house. The straw of rice and the stalks of maize furnish a portion of the fodder required for the winter months, but this has to be supplemented, and nature has been very bountiful in supplying food for cattle and sheep. In September one sees various kinds of maimed trees bearing in their forks the fodder which has been cut for winter use. Of the trees used for fodder the

chief are as follows:

Salix (Vir). This is the best of sheep fodders, and the willow is cultivated almost entirely with a view to providing food for sheep. There are varieties of willows, and the mountain willow is much prized as a cattle fodder. The Indian chestnut, *Aesculus indica (Dan)*, the *Cotoneaster sp. (lun)*, the hawthorn (*ring*), poplars (*phrast*), are always lopped to provide cattle-fodder in the winter. In the spring the tender shoots of *Ulmus Wallichiana* form a favourite food of the buffalo.

Kashmír is rich in grasses, and the boundaries of the rice fields furnish a fine crop of hay every year. This hay is twisted into long ropes, which are suspended from trees. This protects the hay from the weather. In the higher villages fields are set apart for hay (*lao*), and the hay is made and stacked in the English fashion. The best grasses are the *beran*, *lundr*, *jab*, *bataklut* (clover) and *methi* (*Trigonella Foenum-graecum*). There is a poisonous clover which is very deadly to cattle before flowering, though innocuous to horses, and there is a grass known as *kungi* (*Stipa sibirica*) which produces a curious intoxicating effect on horses and other cattle, and unless remedies are applied the *kungi* often proves fatal. (Two remedies are employed: the animal's head is placed over dense smoke, and, if this fails, acid fruit and vinegar administered internally sometimes gives relief.) The cattle of the country seem aware of its poisonous effects and do not touch it. The swamps of Kashmír produce the valuable fodder plants, and in the summer one sees ponies deep in the water grazing upon the marsh plants. The most valuable of the swamp fodders is the *nari*, a kind of reed, which is either eaten green or is stored away for the winter. It is considered an excellent food for horses, and the State stables use no other.

The *khur* (*Limnanthemum nymphoides*) is a round-leaved swamp plant, much valued as a food for cows. It is said to increase the yield of milk.

The *tari* grass is also a valuable fodder for horses, and the *kabbal* grass (the *dub* grass of India) is very common and much prized as a fodder. Among other grasses should be mentioned the spurious rice, *háma* (*Panicum colonum*), which is alluded to in the chapter on agriculture. This is one of the most fattening horse foods in the country.

The *durháma* (*Sorghum halepense*) is regarded as poisonous till

it comes into flower, but its poisonous properties then depart and it is one of the best cattle fodders.

Rye (*Secale cereale*) grows wild in the wheat fields and is used as a fodder. It is sometimes cultivated for thatching purposes. No rats will go near it. The Kashmírís call it French wheat.

6. FOODS AND FRUITS. Under this heading I have decided to eliminate the important water-chestnut and the walnut, and they will be described in the chapter on agriculture. In that chapter I have also mentioned the wonderful wealth of food given by the wild plants of the Dal lake. But as these plants occur on other lakes and swamps I shall at the risk of repetition enumerate them here. I should further preface my remarks on the foods and fruits yielded by indigenous plants in Kashmír by the observation that it is impossible to mention all plants that are used for food. I can only mention those plants which are in common use, and cannot find space for the numerous products of the swamps and forests which were eagerly devoured in the famine time. There is a superstition in Kashmír that plants like the *kámbe* (*Solanum nigrum*), *trer*, *kuna* and *kreri*, which were largely eaten in 1877-79, only appear when famine is imminent, and from all accounts experiments were made in that awful calamity with nearly every plant in the valley. One plant known as *brári* caused many deaths. *Krála mundu* (*Capsella Bursa-pastoris*); *bera muji* (*Umbellifer*); *koi kok*, a turnip-rooted Umbellifer; *throh* (*Barbarea* sp.), and many other which cannot be identified, were greedily eaten by the starving. On the lakes and swamps, we find the following food plants growing wild:

Water-chestnut	<i>Trapa bispinosa</i>	<i>Singhara</i> and <i>gari</i>
"	<i>Euryale ferox</i>	<i>Jewar</i>
"	<i>Nymphaea stellata</i>	<i>Bumposh</i>
Waterlily	<i>Nymphaea alba</i>	
Sacred lotus	<i>Nelumbium speciosum</i>	<i>Pamposh</i> or <i>Pambach</i>
Sweet flag	<i>Acorus Calamus</i>	
Reed mace	<i>Typha</i> sp.	<i>Pits</i> .

The *singhára* will be described in the chapter on agriculture. The *jewár* gives a soft, sweet seed which is eaten raw or roasted. The *bumposh* provides from its fragrant white flowers a pleasant *sharbat*, and from its stem a relishable vegetable. The *pamposh* gives a sweet nut, while its stem is the white *nadru* which the Kashmírís stew with meat. From the pollen of the *pits* the *dal nabád* or lake sweetmeat is made, and the root of the *pits* is also eaten.

In the streams the familiar watercress (*Nasturtium officinale*), *nág bubr*, is found.

In every field the bright blue flower of the *Cichorium Intybus* (*handiposh*) is seen, and people value it as a vegetable. The plant is often cultivated in the gardens. *Phytolacca acinosa* and *Megacarpaea polyandra* (*chattr*) form useful potherbs, while *Nepeta raphanorrhiza* furnishes an excellent root which would rival the radish if it were cultivated. The outer skin comes off easily and has the flavour of a radish. The inner part is milk-white, delicious to eat, somewhat like a good almond.

Rheum (*pombahak*) grows at high elevations, and gives a rhubarb which is in my opinion, far more delicate and delicious than the cultivated rhubarb. *Sehbargi* (*Oxalis corniculata*) mixed with mint makes a delicious, somewhat acid chutney.

Polygonum polystachyum (*tsok laddar*) and *Polygonum rumicifolium* (*rumach*) provide a vegetable quite equal to the finest English rhubarb, and not so acid. *Rumex* (*aibij*) is picked and dried for winter use, and is much valued as a potherb. Another *Rumex*, probably *R. acetosa* (*kakutari*), is employed as an acid vegetable. The young leaves of the red poppy (*gulala*) are much esteemed as a vegetable. They are known as *tanyal*. *Chaerophyllum* sp. (*Kev*) is looked upon as an excellent substitute for carrots both by the herdsmen and by the red bears. Wild onions (*prán*), the *wolikot*, which resembles the national vegetable (the *karam ság*), the *kopal* (*Dipsacus inermis*), the *pamsal*, and the leaves of the *wan ruhan* are largely eaten. *Wata krim* (*Lychnis* sp.) makes an excellent sweet potherb. The roots of the *zergogal*, a turnip-rooted Umbellifer, give a warm food. *Chaun-charu*, the adder's tongue, is said to be extremely pungent as a vegetable. *Drab* (*Polygonum* sp.) is eaten boiled with milk. *Chari hák* (*Canipanula* sp.) is a warm potherb. The bark of the yew, *Taxus baccata* (*posthil*), not long ago, when tea was a luxury only enjoyed by the few, was regularly used by the Kashmírís in the place of tea, and was largely exported to Ladakh. In the famine the bark was ground into flour and consumed by the people. *Venna* (*Mentha*) is a sweet herb somewhat like peppermint, and is sometimes used by the Hindus as a substitute for the *tulsi*. The valley or rather the mountains of the valley are rich in fungi, and the people assure me that the English distrust of the huge, coral-like excrescences which cover the forest trees is uncalled for, and numerous fungi are eaten

by the Kashmírís with no evil results. Our mushroom, *Agaricus* sp. (*hedur*), is common, and the morel (*Morchella* sp. *kanaguchi*) abounds in the mountains and forms an important export to India. It is an excellent addition to a stew, and it is surprising that it is not more frequently used by the European visitors. *Hydnum coralloides* and *Agaricus flammans*, known to the people respectively as *káho khur* and *silri* or *síriri*, are highly thought of by the natives. *Agaricus flammans* is only found on the bark of the elm, while *Hydnum coralloides* affects rotten wood and the burnt-out hollows of *Picea Morinda*. *Mazkhel*, which is found on the walnut, pine and mulberry, sometimes weighs two pounds and is an excellent fungus. Of the ferns the *ded* is dried and eaten in the winter. It is like bracken in appearance and is considered a good and healthy food. Of the fruits of Kashmír, the following are indigenous and are found in all parts of the valley. Their fruit is not so good as that of the cultivated trees, but it is by no means to be despised, and though the Kashmírís always speak of the wild fruit as bears' food (*hapat kneun*), I notice that they do not scorn to eat the apples and pears:

Mulberry	<i>Morus</i> sp.	<i>Tul</i>
Bitter cherry	<i>Prunus Cerasus</i>	<i>Alucha</i>
Plum	<i>Prunus communis</i>	<i>Ar</i>
Apple	<i>Pyrus Malus</i>	<i>Tsunt</i>
Pear	<i>Pyrus communis</i>	<i>Tang</i>
Vine	<i>Vitis vinifera</i>	<i>Dach</i>
Walnut	<i>Juglans regia</i>	<i>Dun</i>
Pomegranate	<i>Punica Granatum</i>	<i>Dan</i>

The following list contains the chief indigenous plants which grow wild in Kashmír and yield an edible fruit:

Raspberry	<i>Rubus niveus</i>	<i>Chanch</i>
Blackberry	<i>Rubus fruticosus</i>	<i>Dhan chanch</i>
Bramble	<i>Rubus lasiocarpus</i>	<i>Sur chanch</i>
"	<i>Rubus saxatilis</i>	<i>Popai</i>
Strawberry	<i>Fragaria vesca</i>	<i>Ingra</i>
Gooseberry	<i>Ribes Grossularia</i>	
Red currant	<i>Ribes rubrum</i>	
Black currant	<i>Ribes nigrum</i>	<i>Hargil</i>
Bird cherry	<i>Prunus Padus</i>	<i>Zumb</i>
Barberry	<i>Berberis Lycium</i>	<i>Kaodach</i>
"	" "	<i>Chukiphal</i> (Like the <i>kaodach</i> but with red berries.)

Elaeagnus	Elaeagnus parvifolia	Gaun
Beam tree	Pyrus lanata	Maitang
	" "	Chirain (Tree found at high elevation with a slightly acid berry.)
Hazel	Corylus Columna	Virin
Guelder	Viburnum foetens	Kulmanch (honey flower).

As regards these fruits, I would only say that the raspberry and the currants are, in my opinion, equal to the cultivated varieties of Europe. The black currant is identical with our English black currant. The red currant is similar in flavour, but there is a difference in the arrangement of the berries. I have only seen hazel-nuts of a small size, but travellers say that on the slopes of the Pir Panjal they have met with excellent filberts.

7. HAIR-WASHES. The Kashmírís take some pains with their hair, and besides using butter and oil they employ the following plants: To strengthen the hair they use the powdered roots of a plant known as *zonir*, mixed with butter. To destroy insects they use washes made from *Euphorbia Thomsoniana* (*hirbi*) and from *Aconitum* sp. (*manirah dag*). To induce a curliness in the hair they employ a wash made from *Corydalis Falconeri* (*at nil*).

8. MEDICINES. The hakims of Kashmír, the native physicians, attribute some property to every plant, and when I have made inquiries as to the various herbs which I have seen in the valley and on the hill-sides, I am always told that they are hot and good for cold humours, cold and good for hot humours, dry and beneficial to damp humours, damp and beneficial to dry humours. The Panjabis employed in my department, usually inclined to despise all Kashmíri methods, show great respect for the hakims, and have told me of wonderful cures effected by the herbs of the valley. I give below a list of the more common medicinal herbs:

Scientific name	Kashmíri	Uses
<i>Aconitum heterophyllum</i>	<i>Patis</i> or <i>Nar-Mada</i>	Root, tonic. Much exported. Regarded by Kashmírís as an excellent substitute for quinine. Fetches one rupee per seer. Leaves and seed exported.
<i>Hyoscyamus niger</i>	<i>Bagar bhang</i>	Used for the heart.
<i>Macrotomia Benthami</i>	<i>Gao zaban</i>	Also called <i>nuna posh</i> or salt flowers, as they used to be exchanged for their weight in salt.
<i>Viola serpens</i>	<i>Banasha</i>	Largely exported.
<i>Artemisia</i>	<i>Tetwan</i>	Employed in rheumatism and colds, also to avert the evil eye.
<i>Peganum Harmala</i>	<i>Isband</i>	Roots, purgative.
<i>Euphorbia Thomsoniana</i>	<i>Hirbi</i>	Much exported, a bitter root and tonic used in Kashmír for horses.
<i>Pichorhiza Kurrooa</i>	<i>Chob-i-kor</i>	A remedy for cholera, is astringent.
<i>Berberis Lycium</i>	<i>Kaodach</i>	Used for bringing boils to a head.
<i>Senecio Jacquemontiana</i>	<i>Khalar</i>	
<i>Salvia</i> sp.	<i>Sholra</i>	

Podophyllum emodi, *Colchicum luteum*, and *Atropa Belladonna* are common in Kashmír, but they are not used in medicine. The following list contains the most important of the indigenous medicines of Kashmír not already mentioned. I give the Kashmíri names and where possible the scientific names, together with the property of each plant:

Kashmīri	Scientific name	Action
<i>Abasi</i>	<i>Mirabilis Jalapa</i> spread from cultivation	Seeds used as astringent.
<i>Hamesha bahar</i>		
<i>Wan pran</i>	<i>Allium</i> sp.	Used internally as antiphlogistic.
<i>Kris</i>		Stimulant, expectorant.
<i>Kakilipot</i>	<i>Dioscorea deltoidea</i>	Diuretic, dose 1 dram.
<i>Bobuna</i>		Poison in large dose.
<i>Soi</i>	<i>Cuscuta</i> sp.	Laxative.
<i>Sosan</i>	<i>Cotula anthelmintica</i>	Stomachic, considered good for rheumatism.
<i>Brari gasa</i>		Diuretic.
<i>Kalawint</i>	<i>Urtica dioica</i>	Stimulant, expectorant.
<i>Mantsaran</i>		Anthelmintic.
<i>Gewthir</i>	<i>Iris</i> sp.	Antineuralgic.
<i>Wedang</i>		Antidysenteric, used in menorrhagia.
<i>Mowal</i>	Labiata	Expectorant.
<i>Nunar</i>		Anthelmintic.
<i>Lisa</i>	<i>Adiantum Capillus Veneris</i>	Seeds used as demulcent.
<i>Janiadam</i>		Styptic internally.
<i>Zadibabr</i>	<i>Salvia</i> sp.	Expectorant.
<i>Rangarichh</i>		Diuretic.
<i>Tarituz</i>	<i>Aesculus indica</i>	Expectorant.
<i>Pahand</i>		Seeds emetic.
<i>Maniphal</i>	<i>Malva rotundifolia</i>	Diuretic.
<i>Krotha</i>		Do.
<i>Pala manz</i>	<i>Fagopyrum esculentum</i>	Emetic.
<i>Mitsari Kund</i>		Used in renal calculus.
<i>Abuj</i>	<i>Platanus orientalis</i>	Internally used in herpes.
<i>Hunak dun</i>		Diuretic.
<i>Sutsal</i>	<i>Pyrus Cydonia</i>	Astringent.
<i>Tsari takshaj</i>		Cathartic.
<i>Saza posh</i>		Expectorant.
<i>Tromba</i>		Antiperiodic.
<i>Boin</i>		Internally as antiphlogistic.
<i>Kawa dachh</i>		Anodyne.
<i>mul</i>		Capsules used internally in ophthalmia.
<i>Tsoka ladar</i>		Used as gargle in toothache.
<i>Ziri gogul</i>		Astringent.
<i>Most</i>		Diuretic.
<i>Bamtsunt</i>		Stomachic.
<i>Bota jat</i>		Demulcent.
		Stomachic.

Kashmīri	Scientific name	Action
<i>Shahtarr</i>	<i>Fumaria officinalis</i>	Used internally in skin diseases; cooling sharbat for fevers.
<i>Gulala</i> <i>Mora kachh</i> <i>Jugi badshah</i> <i>Zakhmi hayat</i> <i>Bombiposh</i> <i>Pambachh</i> <i>Kambai</i> <i>Gula</i> <i>Punda nast</i>	<i>Papaver Rhoeas</i>	Cardiac tonic. Soporific. Internally as antiphlogistic. Internally in ulcer.
	<i>Nymphaea stellata</i>	Antiperiodic.
	<i>Nelumbium speciosum</i>	Nervine tonic.
	<i>Solanum nigrum</i>	Antiperiodic.
	<i>Rhododendrum campanulatum</i>	Styptic internally. Used as snuff for headache.
<i>Mangal</i> <i>Sooi</i> <i>Gugar Kund</i>	<i>Astragalus</i> sp.	Internally in skin diseases. Stomachic. Root used for toothache, also for tooth-brushes.
<i>Sulai</i> <i>Gurgas</i>	Labiata Gramen	Used as an eyewash. Leaves pounded applied externally for snake bites or panther wounds.
<i>Buvir</i>	<i>Salix</i> sp.	Leaves bitter, employed as cooling remedy for fevers, as a local application for the feet.
<i>Gandalinu</i>	<i>Daphne oleoides</i>	Good for colic in horses and tumours.
<i>Dand lidar</i> <i>Sarpang</i>	<i>Berberis</i> sp. <i>Euphorbia</i> sp.	Root good for horses. Good for scurvy and skin diseases, used both internally and externally.
<i>Wan bubr</i>	<i>Mentha</i> sp.	Dried powdered leaves good for wounds inflicted by the bear.
<i>Pahlmund</i> <i>Halkagas</i> <i>Panchpatri</i> <i>Sheoramgas</i> <i>Suru Krilu</i>	<i>Pyrethrum</i> sp. <i>Polygonum</i> sp. <i>Geranium</i> sp. <i>Mentha</i> sp. <i>Rubus</i> sp.	Root good for toothache. Good for saddle sores. Good for burn wounds. Good for sword wounds. Good for dropsy.

9. POISONS. Among the poisons may be mentioned:

Impatiens Roylei
Aconitum Napellus
Datura Stramonium

Trul
Mohundguji
Datur

Hyoscyamus niger
 Atropa lutescens
 Rhus acuminata

Bagar bang

Arkhor.

The seeds of the *Datura Stramonium* of Kashmír have been largely exported of late years, and Panjabi dealers give Rs. 5 per maund. I have not been able to ascertain for what purpose they are exported.

10. SCENTS. The following plants are valued as scents: The sweet-scented lousewort, *Pedicularis brevifolia* (*kasturi*), grows at an elevation of 11,000 feet and has a delicious odour, but not of musk.

The roots of *Jurinea macrocephala* (*gogal dhup*) are largely exported to India, where they are used by Hindus, and the dried plants and roots of *Morina longifolia* (*kandeher* or *khandij*) are esteemed by the Ladakhis as an incense.

The most important of the aromatic plants of Kashmír is the *Saussurea Lappa* (*kut*). This plant grows at high elevations from 8,000 to 9,000 feet, and is more especially abundant on the mountains of the northern end of the valley. The root, which has a scent like orris with a slight blend of violets, is extracted in the summer by the shepherds and herdsmen. Every year a large amount of the roots of the *Saussurea Lappa* is demanded by the State, and the villagers are obliged to bring a certain weight, for which they receive Rs. 4 per kharwar from the State. The root, which is known as *chob-i-kot*, is exported to India, and at present the monopoly in *chob-i-kot* is farmed out to a contractor for Rs. 45,000 per annum. The root loses weight by drying, but it is believed that the price obtained in Bombay, when the *chob-i-kot* is exported to China, allows of a very handsome profit. In China the root is used for incense in the Joss houses, and is also used in India for clearing wells. It is an excellent remedy for preserving clothes from insects, and is much used in perfumery. As a medicine it has many properties, tonic, aromatic and stimulant, and it is useful in cough, asthma, fever, dyspepsia, and skin disease. It has also been used as an ingredient in a stimulating mixture for cholera, and has been applied in cases of toothache and rheumatism. From Bombay and Calcutta the root finds its way to China and the Red Sea. It is very easy to adulterate *chob-i-kot*, and its perfume is so strong that 20 seers of the real drug will flavour 100 seers of spurious root.

It is stated that in 1864 the Kashmír State obtained nearly Rs. 90,000 from the sale of *chob-i-kot*. The present revenue of Rs. 45,000 compares unfavourably with the revenue of 1864, but it is believed that prices have fallen, that a large quantity of the root is now imported into India from Afghanistan, and that undue exploitation of the *chob-i-kot* has led to a diminution in the supply of the plant in Kashmír. No attempts have as yet been made to cultivate the *Saussurea Lappa*, but experts believe that cultivation would be at once easy and profitable.

Salix caprea (*bed mushk*) from its flowers yields an essential oil or *attar* much used in perfumery. The roses of Kashmír were formerly used for the manufacture of *attar*, and in the Mughal times the roses and willows in the gardens on the Dal lake yielded a revenue of one lakh of rupees per annum. On certain occasions, such as the recitation of a Saint's texts (*khatm*), or at the funeral pyre of a wealthy Hindu, sandal-wood (*tsandum*) is burnt. Many Kashmírís say that the sandal-wood grows in Kashmír, but this is impossible, and the sandal-wood used in the valley is imported.

11. SOAP AND ALKALI. The roots of the *Aster diplostephoides* (*sahour*) and of *Dioscorea deltoidea* (*krits*) are much used in the washing of wools, while in the manufacture of soap the alkaline ashes of the pine, elm (*bren*) and the *amarantus* (*ganhar*) are much employed. These ashes furnish a substance known as *saz*, which, when mixed with mutton fat and the flour of a kind of pulse known as *mah*, constitutes the soap of Kashmír. Sopur was once famous for its manufacture of soap. The red beans of the *lobia* are also much used in the washing and in the preparation of woollen fabrics.

12. TIMBER. Kashmír is rich in grand forests, which produce a great variety of timbers. The most valuable timber, that of the deodar, is not very widely spread, and with the exception of a few small cedar patches along the west of the valley all the deodar forests are located in the north-west corner of Kashmír. The system of farming out timber to contractors resulted in the destruction of many fine forests in the vicinity of rivers, and tracts which the contractor has spared have suffered at the hands of the ubiquitous Gujar, who with his small axe cuts down trees partly for the sake of fodder and partly from a kind of natural instinct which impels him to make forest clearings for the sake of grass. It is a melancholy sight to see huge trees felled and left to rot, and the

past administration of forests in Kashmír has been reckless and short-sighted. Dry timber is harder to cut up than green trees, and the contractor, instead of using trees which have been felled, prefers to cut down fresh ones. A department has now been formed under the supervision of a European Forest Officer, and it is to be hoped that the indiscriminate and wanton destruction of forests will cease. In a country like Kashmír, where the houses are chiefly constructed of timber, and where the greater part of the fuel consists of wood, forests must always be of great importance, and it is a matter for congratulation that the danger of scarcity of timber and fuel threatened by the thoughtless and self-interested action of temporary contractors will now, perhaps, be averted by the introduction of some system of forest conservancy. It should, however, be borne in mind that forests are subservient to the wants of the agricultural community, and any system of conservancy which would tend to make timber and fuel expensive to the agricultural classes is to be deprecated in a country like Kashmír.

The following is a list of the more common trees in Kashmír. It is a curious fact that no oaks occur in the valley and its mountain sides, and I have never seen the holly or the Himalayan rhododendron:

No	Scientific Name	Kashmiri	English
1	<i>Cedrus Libani</i> , var. <i>Deodara</i>	<i>Deodar</i> or <i>Diar</i>	Deodar
2	<i>Pinus excelsa</i>	<i>Kairu</i> or <i>yar</i>	Himalayan blue pine
3	<i>Picea Morinda</i>	<i>Kachil</i>	Himalayan spruce
4	<i>Abies Webbiana</i>	<i>Budal</i> or <i>Sungal</i>	Himalayan silver fir
5	<i>Taxus baccata</i>	<i>Posthal</i>	Yew
6	<i>Alnus nitida</i>	<i>Sarul</i> or <i>Kanzal</i>	Alder
7	<i>Ulmus</i> sp.		
8	<i>Wallichiana</i>	<i>Brenn</i>	Elm
9	<i>Prunus Padus</i>	<i>Zonb</i>	Bird-cherry
10	<i>Fraxinus floribunda</i>		
11	<i>Moorcroftiana</i>	<i>Hom</i>	Ash
12	<i>Juglans regia</i>	<i>Dun</i>	Walnut
13	<i>Aesculus indica</i>	<i>Han</i>	Indian horse-chestnut
14	<i>Corylus Columna</i>	<i>Virin</i>	Hazel
15	<i>Celtis australis</i>	<i>Brimij</i>	
16	<i>Crataegus Oxyacantha</i>	<i>Ring</i>	Hawthorn
17	<i>Populus nigra</i>	<i>Phrast</i>	Italian poplar
18	<i>alba</i>	<i>Dudh Phrast</i>	White poplar
19	<i>Acer</i> sp.	<i>Kanar</i>	Maple
20	<i>Salix tetrasperma</i>	<i>Vir</i>	Willow
21	<i>Viburnum foetens</i>	<i>Kulmanch</i>	Guelder
22	<i>Betula utilis</i>	<i>Burza</i>	Birch
23	<i>Parrotia Jacquemontiana</i>	<i>Poh</i>	Witch Hazel
24	<i>Platanus orientalis</i>	<i>Boin</i>	Plane
25	<i>Morus</i> sp.	<i>Tul</i>	Mulberry
26	<i>Pyrus Malus</i>	<i>Tsunt</i>	Apple
27	<i>communis</i>	<i>Tang</i>	Pear
28	<i>Cotoneaster bacillaris</i>	<i>Lun</i>	
29	<i>Euonymus</i> sp.	<i>Chol</i>	Spindle tree
30	<i>Zizyphus vulgaris</i>	<i>Bre</i>	Jujube
31	<i>Rhus Wallichii</i>	<i>Arkhor</i>	
32	" "	<i>Wutil</i>	
33	<i>Juniperus excelsa</i>		

1. The best of all timber is that produced by the deodar. It is much in request for houses, boats and bridges, and it seems to be impervious to water. The old shrines, some of great age, are made of deodar, and the great Juma Masjid of Srinagar, with its lofty shafts of cedar, is said to have been constructed of timber cut from the Tashawan Forest. The Tashawan Forest is now part of the city lying on the left bank of the river between the Fattah and Zaina bridges. It is interesting to notice that isolated deodars are found at low elevations in many parts of the valley, where they resemble in growth the cedar of Lebanon. It is probable that in old days the deodar was spread all over the valley, but the building requirements of Srinagar soon exhausted the deodar forests in the vicinity of the city. At present, with the single exception of the forests to the

north-west of the valley, there are no deodars within reach of the streams; they have all been cut either for export to the Panjab or for local use. Young deodar poles (*hamatola*) are much sought after by boatmen for poling purposes, and in former days the hop gardens were supplied with deodar poles. From the roots of deodar a resin is distilled, used by the herdsmen as an ointment for buffaloes. The mortars (*kanz*) in which paddy is husked are usually made of deodar.

2. The blue pine (*yar* or *kairu*) is much valued as a timber for house building. It lasts for a long time. The white resin of the pine (*kanglan*) is used by the natives as an application to wounds and for medical purposes, and from the roots of the tree a kind of black pitch is distilled known as *kilam*. Men who work in the rice fields anoint their legs and arms with *kilam* in order to protect themselves against the *kirza*, or water insects, which are troublesome. Sheep are marked with the *kilam*. The *yar* furnishes the people of the higher villages with light, and every house stores up a quantity of pine shavings which are made into excellent torches (*lashi*). Many a pine tree is hacked into for torches, and if it does not contain sufficient oil is left to die. The *yar* yields an excellent charcoal much esteemed by the blacksmiths of Kashmír.

3. The Himalayan spruce (*rayil* or *kachil*) furnishes a timber much used in house building. The wood, although largely employed for shingles, is not durable when exposed to wet. Excellent planks for indoor work are obtained from the spruce. The young cones of the spruce are used in the manufacture of a drug known as *gaz pipal*.

4. The silver fir (*budal*) is preferred by the Kashmírís to the spruce. It is easier to work, as it is free from knots, and it is more durable than the spruce. It is very suitable for joists. Both the spruce and the silver firs grow to an enormous height. Trees have been measured 110 feet long with a girth of 16 feet. The people have an idea that land on which the silver fir has grown will never repay cultivation.

5. Yew (*posthal*) is not valued as a timber for house building. I imagine that it does not lend itself to the Kashmíri methods of cutting all timber with the axe, but for small work like the legs of a bed, etc., the yew is useful.

6. The alder grows by river banks up to 7,000 feet. As a timber the alder is valued for furniture and ploughs and it yields an

excellent fuel. Its twigs are used for rope bridges and its bark is employed in dyeing and tanning.

7, 8. The elm is found at all elevations up to 9,000 feet and is a favourite tree for shrines. It attains a great height and girth. In one village, Rahama of Hamal, I measured two elms. At 5 feet from the ground one had a circumference of 33 feet 6 inches, the other 35 feet 1 inch. The Hindus regard the elm as sacred to Ganpati, but the Musalmans use the tree for making trays (*tallul*), ploughs, for building, for fuel. The ashes of burnt elm have alkaline properties. The young shoots of the tree are much esteemed as a food for buffaloes. The elm abounds in the Lolab valley.

9. The bird-cherry is used for spinning-wheels.

10, 11. The ash furnishes a strong, useful timber much prized by agriculturists for implements, more especially the handles of ploughs. Boatmen esteem the wood for paddles.

12. The timber of the walnut is in great demand for furniture, gunstocks, ploughs and spinning-wheels, but it is difficult to procure the dark-grained wood. Walnuts are to be found in every village, from an elevation of 5,500 to 7,500 feet, but in many places the old trees are showing signs of decay, and in few cases do the people make any effort towards reproduction. Some account of the walnut will be found in the chapter on agriculture, but it may be mentioned here that the wild and indigenous walnut of the forests yields a nut which by boiling is made to yield oil. Kashmir is well suited to the culture of walnuts, and steady pressure should be brought to bear on the people to replace their old trees. The mistletoe (*ahalu*) attaches itself to the walnut and the people make no attempt to remove it. They say that it would be cruel to rob the bulbul of its favourite food. The walnut tree attains a great size. Three trees in the village of Tikar, at 5 feet from the ground, had a circumference respectively of 14 feet 11 inches, 15 feet 2 inches and 16 feet 4 inches. One tree which I measured at Goglusa had a circumference of 18 feet 10 inches.

13. The timber of the Indian horse-chestnut is much used for furniture, for pattens and spoons.

14. The hazel is used for making spinning-wheels and for spoons. The large spoon in which tea is ladled out is always made of hazel.

15. The *brimij* is usually found in graveyards and in the vicinity

of shrines, where it sometimes grows to a magnificent tree. I measured one tree in Andrhamā (Lolab); at 5 feet from the ground it had a circumference of 9 feet 3 inches. When *brimij* can be obtained from places not consecrated it is always used for the yokes (*yiput*) of plough cattle, as it is a soft, cool wood.

16. The hawthorn is chiefly used for the roller employed in oil presses, and for the pestle with which paddy is husked. The wood is very hard.

17, 18. The poplar is not esteemed for its timber. Poor people however use it for house building, more especially in the city. The poplar grows at all elevations from 5,000 to 7,500 feet. It is spoken of by the Kashmīris as the minister of the kingly plane tree. There are several varieties in Kashmīr, and the *Kabuli phrast* is a very beautiful tree with white bark and silvery leaves. There are fine avenues of poplar near Srinagar, Islamabad and Baramula, and it is usually stated that the Mughals introduced the poplar. Near shrines the beautiful *Kahuli phrast* is always found, and one of the most charming objects in Kashmīr is the grand grove of poplars at the entrance to the Gurais valley. The Gurais poplar is *Populus alba* and attains to a great height, one having been measured 127 feet in height with a girth of 14½ feet.

19. The maple grows at high elevations. Its wood is valued for making ploughs. Maple yields an excellent fuel, but so far no saccharine matter has ever been extracted from this tree. I shall allude elsewhere to the question of introducing the sugar maple in Kashmīr. The golden foliage of the maple makes a charming contrast to the dark green of the firs and other trees of high altitudes.

20. The willow is not valued for its timber, but good light pattens are made of it. As a fuel it is not esteemed highly, but it is cheap and plentiful. The valuable withies of the willow are practically wasted in Kashmīr, and there is abundance of material ready for chair and basket making.

21. The birch grows at such a distance from the habitations of man that hitherto its elastic timber has not been much used. It gives an excellent fuel.

22. *Poh* supplies a good hard wood for the pestles (*mohl*) with which rice is husked. Pol poles are also used for the rafters of houses, and in the absence of deodar poles I have used *poh* in the hop-garden. *Poh* is, however, very inferior to deodar as a hop-pole.

23. The *boin* or chenar is a royal tree, and, like the walnut, belongs to the State. Its reproduction by cuttings is a very simple matter, and of late years I am glad to say that people have planted many chenars in the villages. As a shade tree the chenar is unrivalled, and when the soil is suitable and water is near its roots it attains a magnificent size. In their old age the chenars decay, and many fine trees in the Nasim Bagh are hollowed out. The Kashmiris consider 300 years to be the age limit of the chenar, but long after the tree goes at the top vigorous growth is seen from the buttress of boles with which the chenar surrounds itself. The finest tree is said to be the Langa *boin* in the Chenar Bagh. One boled giant I measured in the Lolab had a circumference of 63 feet 5 inches at a height of about 5 feet from the ground. The chenar is especially valued for making oil presses, and its fine-grained wood is used for small boxes. It would be suitable for furniture. Its wood and charcoal are considered the best fuel in Kashmir. The seeds of the chenar seem to be in most instances sterile, but I know of a few trees which give good seed. On the banks of the Jhelum river, for two marches below Baramula, may be seen numerous chenars banking up the river, originating from the seed that is carried down by the streams. A similar phenomenon may be seen on the Srinagar-Gulmarg road between Magam and Rerum. Like the poplar the chenar is said to have been introduced by the Mughals.

24. The mulberry wood is chiefly used by the natives for the doors of shrines and for ploughs. Europeans have employed it in boat-making, and its pliability would make it suitable for bent-wood furniture. It yields an excellent fuel, but the mulberry may not be cut down, as the tree is preserved for the purposes of sericulture. This prohibition is wise, as apart from its potential value in sericulture, the mulberry yields an enormous amount of food to the people and to cattle and sheep. The leaves are especially valued as a sheep fodder. The mulberry lives to a great age and attains fine dimensions. One measured by me in Andrham (Lolab) at 5 feet from the ground had a circumference of 23 feet.

25. The apple gives a good timber for ploughs. It yields a first-rate fuel.

26. The *lun* furnishes excellent alpenstocks.

27. The *chol* is now a somewhat rare tree, growing at high elevations from 6,000 to 7,000 feet, and its wood is highly valued as

a material for the famous pen boxes of Kashmír and for tablets in lieu of slates at school.

28. The *bre* gives a hard red-coloured wood, and the richer people of Kashmír esteem the *bre* for chairs, lintels and hair combs. In many of the shrines the lintels are made of *bre*. The tree grows at Drogjan near Srinagar, but is not common.

29. No carpenter in Kashmír will meddle with the poisonous *arkhor*. The sap of the green wood is said to cause terrible weals or blisters if touched. Wax for candles is said to be made from the berries of this tree in Japan, but the Kashmírís make no use of the seed.

30. The *wutil* is a tree with red berries. Its wood is used for spoons and combs.

13. YEAST. The *jawen* or wild thyme is commonly employed for *khamir* or leaven. The Kashmírís use other plants for *khamir*, and the celebrated bread of Pampur is made from a leaven which is kept a strict secret.

14. ADULTERANTS. The bark of the yew and the roots of the strawberry are used as a substitute for, or adulterant of tea.

The dried leaves of the *Rhododendron campanulatum* (*yung patr*) are mixed with snuff to increase the sternutatory action.

The seeds of *Daucus Carota* (*mor mujh*) are used as an adulterant of carraway seeds. Many roots are used as adulterants of the valuable *chob-i-kot* (*Saussurea Lappa*). The chief are the roots of *Salvia lanata*, *Ligularia* sp. and *Aconitum* sp.

These lists of plants possessing some economical uses are by no means exhaustive, and I have only mentioned the plants which have been pointed out to me by the villagers. There are many other plants which would be of interest to the economical botanist.

Most books on Kashmír mention the great variety of the Flora of the valley, but so far as I know no list of plants has yet been published. By the kindness of my friend, Mr. J. F. Duthie, the Director of the Botanical Survey of Northern India, I am enabled to furnish a list of the plants which may be found in the neighbourhood of Gulmarg. The list omits perhaps some of the more common plants which occur at Gulmarg and at many of the other margs of Kashmír, but it will be of use and interest to visitors who come to ramble in the beautiful dells and mountain lawns which surround Gulmarg, and may serve as a good basis for future

investigation. The plants marked A have been added by Dr. Aitchison, C.I.E.

Botanical Name	English Name	Elevation in feet	Tree or Shrub, etc.	Colour of flowers	Locality	Further particulars
<i>Ranunculaceae:</i> <i>Clematis montana</i> , Ham						
• <i>orientalis</i> , L		5-7,000	Woody climber	White	Amongst scrub	A
<i>Thalictrum foliolosum</i> , DC	Meadow rue	6-7,000		Yellow	Amongst bushes	
•		8-9,000	H.	White	Forest	
• <i>pedunculatum</i> , Edgew.		8-9,000	H.	Dingy purple	Stony ground	
• <i>alpinum</i> , L		9-11,000	H.	White	Forest	A
<i>Anemone Falconeri</i> , Thoms.				Greenish	Above forest	Small insignificant-looking plant, and very local.
• <i>obtusiloba</i> , D. Don.		8-9,000	H.	White	Forest	
• <i>rupicola</i> , Camb.		8-12,000	H.	Blue, yellow and white	Marg	Abundant, becoming more dwarf at higher elevations.
• <i>tetrasepala</i> , Royle		11-13,000	H.	Fls. woolly	Rocks	Very handsome, showy. A.
<i>Adonis Chrysocephalus</i> , Hook.f. & T.	Pheasant's eye	11-12,000	H.	White	'Birch forest	Tall, handsome with large white flowers, worthy of cultivation.
<i>Ranunculus laetus</i> , Wall.				Yellow	High margs	Very handsome.
• <i>aquaticus</i> , L., var. <i>trichophyllus</i>			H.		Damp ground	Closely allied to one of the English buttercups (R. aeris).
• <i>diffusus</i> , DC.			H.		Still water	Common in England.
• <i>hirtellus</i> , Royle		8-12,000	H.		Forest	
• <i>hyperboreus</i> , Rotb.		10-12,000	H.	Yellow	Margs	
• <i>pennsylvanicus</i> , L.			H.	White	Wet rocks	
<i>Caltha palustris</i> , L., var. <i>alba</i>	Marsh marigold	8-10,000	H.	Yellow	Water-courses	
<i>Trollius scabellus</i> , Lindl.		10-12,000	H.		High margs	Very showy.

Botanical Name	English Name	Elevation in feet	Tree or Shrub, etc.	Colour of flowers	Locality	Further particulars
<i>Aquilegia vulgaris</i> , L., and varieties	Columbine	8-10,000	H	Lilac, white and yellow		A.
<i>Delphinium denudatum</i> , Wall. cashmerianum, Royle	Larkspur	11,000	H	Light blue Purple with deeper-coloured veins		The root called 'atis' is medicinal.
<i>Aconitum heterophyllum</i> , Wall.	Aconite	8-11,000	H	Blue or greenish blue	Margs	With varieties, A.
' <i>Napellus</i> , L.		8-10,000	H	Bright blue	Forest and margs	Profuse.
' var. <i>multifidum</i> , A.		13,000			Gulmarg	
' var. <i>rotundifolium</i> , A.		11-14,000			Margs	
' <i>Lycotomonum</i> , L.		7-9,000	H	Purple and yellow	Forest	
<i>Actaea spicata</i> , L.		9-11,000	H	White	Forest	A.
<i>Paeonia Emodi</i> , Wall.	Baneberry	8,000	H			
<i>Berberideae</i> :						
<i>Berberis vulgaris</i> , L.						
' <i>Lycium</i> , Royle	Barberry	6,000	Shrub	Yellow	Forest	
<i>Epimedium elatum</i> , Morr. & Dene.			Shrub		Open ground	
<i>Podophyllum Emodi</i> , Wall.		8-10,000	H	White	Forest	
<i>Nymphaeaceae</i> :						
<i>Nymphaea pygmaea</i> , Ait.	Small water-lily	8-9,000	H	White	Waterholes at Gulmarg	Very interesting plant, known only here on and on the Khasia hills in India. Also in China.
<i>Papaveraceae</i> :						
<i>Papaver dubium</i> , L.	Poppy	5-6,000	H	Crimson		Common in the valley.

Botanical Name	English Name	Elevation in feet	Tree or Shrub, etc.	Colour of flowers	Locality	Further particulars
<i>Fumariaceae:</i> <i>Corydalis Falconeri</i> , H.f. & T. <i>rutaeifolia</i> , DC.		8-11,000 6-9,000	H H	Yellow Purplish	Rocks Under trees	A. A.
<i>Cruciferae:</i> <i>Barbarea vulgaris</i> , R. Br. <i>Arabis amplexicaulis</i> , Edgew. <i>alpina</i> , L. <i>Cardamine Impatiens</i> , L. <i>macrophylla</i> , Willd.	Winter cress Rock cress Bitter cress	9-10,000 8-9,000 9,000 9,000 8-9,000	H H H H H	Yellow White White White Lilac	Near water Damp ground	 A A common English weed.
<i>Draba fladnizensis</i> , Wulf., var. <i>homotricha</i> <i>Sisymbrium Thaliaum</i> , J. Gay <i>himalaicum</i> , Hook. f. & T. <i>mollissimum</i> , C.A. Mey	Thale cress	13,000 8-9,000 9-12,000 11-12,000	H H H	White White Purple or white Purple or white white	Rocks Margs Margs	 Habit of Wallflower. Plentiful, especially on sheep-runs and near habitations. Leaves used as <i>ség.</i> Vern. <i>Chattr.</i>
<i>Erysimum altaicum</i> , C.A. Mey <i>Capsella Bursa-pastoris</i> , Medic. <i>Megacarpaea polyandra</i> , Benth.	Shepherd's spurge	8-9,000 11-12,000	H H	Pale yellow White Light yellow	Rocks Open rocky ground	 Becomes more dwarf at high elevations.
<i>Thlaspi arvense</i> , L. <i>alpestre</i> , L.		8-12,000	H. H.	White White	Open	
<i>Violaceae:</i> <i>Viola arenaria</i> , D.C. <i>biflora</i> , L. <i>serpens</i> , Wall. <i>canina</i> , var. <i>sylvatica</i> , Fries	Violet	10-12,000 7-11,000	H. H. H. H.	Purple Yellow Lilac	Open Forest	Used medicinally. A.

Botanical Name	English Name	Elevation in feet	Tree or Shrub, etc.	Colour of flowers	Locality	Further particulars
<i>Polygaleae:</i> <i>Polygala sibirica</i> , L.	Milkwort	7-8,000	H		Open	
<i>Caryophyllaceae:</i> <i>Tunica stricta</i> , Bunge		8-9,000 9-10,000	H H	White White with lilac veins	Open Open rocky	
<i>Gypsophila cerastioides</i> , D. Don.	Bladder campion		H	White	Forest	
<i>Silene inflata</i> , Sm.			H	Lilac	Rocks	
• <i>Moorecroftiana</i> , Wall		8-9,000	H	Greenish white	Forest	
<i>Cuebalus baccifer</i> , L.			H	White or pale lilac		
<i>Lychnis cashmeriana</i> , Royle.		8-9,000	H	Reddish purple	Dry banks	Below Gulmarg.
• <i>coronaria</i> , Desr.			H	White, outside purple		
• <i>indica</i> , Benth.			H	White	Forest	Tall weak plant, with glaucous stems and foliage, and large pure white flowers.
<i>Cerastium davuricum</i> , Fisch.		8-9,000	H	White	Margs	Conspicuous and characteristic plant at Gulmarg during May and June.
• <i>trigynum</i> , Vill.			H	White	Sunny banks	
• <i>vulgatum</i> , L.	Mouse-ear chickweed		H	White	Forest	
<i>Stellaria aquatica</i> , Scop.	Water starwort	10-11,000 11,000	H H H	White White	Shady rocks	
• <i>bulbosa</i> , Wulf.			H		Rocks, grassy places	A.
• <i>Subumbellata</i> , Edgew.			H	White		Abundant.
<i>Arenaria orbiculata</i> , Royle.	Thyme-leaved sandwort	8-9,000	H	White	Damp ground	Flowers inconspicuous.
• <i>serpyllifolia</i> , L.	Pearlwort		H	White		
<i>Sagina procumbens</i> , L.						

Botanical Name	English Name	Elevation in feet	Tree or Shrub, etc.	Colour of flowers	Locality	Further particulars
<i>Hypericaceae:</i> <i>Hypericum perforatum</i> , L.	St. John's wort		H	Yellow	Open hillsides	
<i>Malvaceae:</i> <i>Malva rotundifolia</i> , L.	Dwarf mallow		H	Lilac	Waste ground	
<i>Geraniaceae:</i> <i>Geranium nepalense</i> , Sweet " <i>palustre</i> , L. " <i>pratense</i> , L. " <i>Wallichianum</i> , D. Don. <i>Oxalis corniculata</i> , L. " <i>Acetosella</i> , L. <i>Impatiens brachycentra</i> , Kar. & Kir. " <i>Roylei</i> , Walp. " <i>scabrida</i> , DC. " <i>sulcata</i> , Wall.	Crane's-bill Wood-sorrel Balsam	8-9,000 8-9,000	H H H H H H H H H H H H	Lilac Purple Reddish purple Purple Yellow White Reddish purple Yellow Light purple	Margs Margs Damp forest	Tall, with stout stems and large handsome flowers.
<i>Rutaceae:</i> <i>Boenninghausenia albiflora</i> , Reichb. <i>Skimmia Laureola</i> , Sieb. & Zucc.		8-9,000	H Shrub	White Pale yellow	Forest	Strongly scented evergreen shrub, with scarlet berries.
<i>Celastrineae:</i> <i>Euonymus Hamiltonianus</i> , Wall.	Spindle tree	8-9,000	Small tree	Greenish white	Forest	
<i>Rhamnaceae:</i> <i>Rhamnus purpurea</i> , Edgew. <i>dahurica</i> , Pall.	Buckthorn	8-9,000	Small tree Small tree	Pale green Pale green	Forest Forest	

Botanical Name	English Name	Elevation in feet	Tree or Shrub, etc.	Colour of flowers	Locality	Further particulars
<i>Ampelidaceae:</i> <i>Vitis lanata</i> , Roxb.	Vine		Climbing shrub	Greenish	Forest	Leaves cordate-ovate, with rusty or reddish tomentum underneath.
<i>Sapindaceae:</i> <i>Aesculus indica</i> , Coleb.	Himalayan horse-chestnut		Tree	White and yellow	Forest	
<i>Acer caesium</i> , Wall.	Maple	8-10,000	Tree	White	Forest	
<i>Staphylea Emodi</i> , Wall.			Tree	White	Forest	
<i>Leguminosae:</i> <i>Trigonella pubescens</i> , Edgew. <i>Medicago denticulata</i> , Willd. <i>Trifolium pratense</i> , L. <i>repens</i> , L. <i>Lotus corniculatus</i> , L. <i>Indigofera atropurpurea</i> , Buch. -Ham.	Medick Clover Dutch clover Bird's foot trefoil Indigo		H H H H H Shrub	Yellow Yellow Purple White Yellow Dark red-purple Red-purple	Margs Margs Forest Edges of forest	Vern. <i>Marchob</i> .
<i>Gerardiana</i> , R. -Grah. <i>linifolia</i> , Retz. <i>Caragana brevispina</i> , Benth. <i>Astragalus Candolleanus</i> , Royle		8-9,000	H Shrub Small shrub Small shrub	Red Yellow Yellow Yellow	Forest Rocky ground	
<i>rhizanthus</i> , Royle <i>sikkimensis</i> , Benth. <i>tibetanus</i> , Benth.		8-9,000 10,000 9-10,000	Small shrub Small shrub H	Purple Purple Lilac	Rocky slopes Outskirts of forest	A.
<i>Oxtropis mollis</i> , Benth. <i>Desmodium tiliaefolium</i> , G. Don		9-10,000 8-9,000				

Botanical Name	English Name	Elevation in feet	Tree or Shrub, etc.	Colour of flowers	Locality	Further particulars
<i>Vicia sepium</i> , L. " <i>tennifolia</i> , Roth.	Bush vetch			Light purple Blue		
<i>Lathyrus altaiensis</i> , Ledeb. " <i>pratensis</i> , L. " <i>luteus</i> , Baker	Vetchling	10-11,000 8-10,000		Purple Yellow Yellow	Forest	
<i>Rosaceae</i> : <i>Prunus Padus</i> , L. <i>Spiraea bella</i> , Sims " <i>canescens</i> , D. Don.	Bird cherry	8-10,000 8-9,000 8-9,000	Tree Shrub Shrub	White Red White	Forest Forest Open forest	
" <i>sorbifolia</i> , L. " <i>vestita</i> , Wall.			Shrub H	White White	Forest	Similar in habit to the English "meadow-sweet" (<i>S. Ulmaria</i>).
<i>Rubus pungens</i> , Camb. " <i>purpureus</i> , Bunge " <i>lasiocarpus</i> , Smith " <i>niveus</i> , Wall. " <i>fruticosus</i> , L., var.		8-9,000 8-9,000 5-6,5000	Shrub Shrub Shrub	White White Pink	Forest Sides of fields, etc. Forest	A. There are many varieties. Leaves usually white beneath, fruit red and of good flavour.
<i>Geum elatum</i> , Wall. " <i>urbanum</i> , L. <i>Fragaria indica</i> , Andr. " <i>vesca</i> , L. <i>Potentilla argrophylla</i> , Wall.	Bramble Avens Strawberry	5-6,5000 8-12,000 8-9,000 7-10,000 8-11,000	Shrub H H H H	Pinkish Yellow Yellow Yellow White Crimson, orange and yellow	Sides of fields, etc. Margs Margs	A. Like a <i>Potentilla</i> , with large bright yellow flowers.
" <i>var. leucochroa</i> " <i>Dombjounesana</i> , Camb.		11-12,000 10-11,000	H H	Yellow Yellow	Margs Margs	

Botanical Name	English Name	Elevation in feet	Tree or Shrub, etc.	Colour of flowers	Locality	Further particulars
<i>Potentilla gelida</i> , C. A. Mey <i>nepalensis</i> , Hook <i>Sibbaldi</i> , Haller f. <i>Alchemilla vulgaris</i> , L.		10-11,000 7-9,000 10-12,000	H H H H	Yellow Crimson Yellow Yellow-green	Margs Forest and margs Margs Forest Forest Forest	Common in the valleys, and the flowers are very sweet-scented. This rose is abundant in Baltistan.
<i>Agrimonia pilosa</i> , Ledeb. <i>Rosa aserinaefolia</i> , Boiss. <i>macrophylla</i> , Lindl. <i>moschata</i> , Herrm. <i>Webbiana</i> , Wall.	Agrimony	9-10,000 8-11,000	Shrub Shrub Climbing shrub Shrub	Yellow Red White Pink to white	Forest Forest Forest Open rocky ground Forest	Common in the valleys, and the flowers are very sweet-scented. This rose is abundant in Baltistan.
<i>Pyrus Aucuparia</i> , Ehrh. <i>Pashia</i> , Buch.-Ham.	Rowan or mountain ash		Tree Tree	White White	Forest Forest	Fruit eaten overripe like that of the medlar.
<i>Malus</i> , L. <i>lanata</i> , D. Don. <i>microphylla</i> , Wall.	Apple		Tree Tree Small tree	White and red White White	Forest Forest	Found first by Aitchison in Kashmir, since Webb found it in Sirmore, A.
<i>Crataegus Oxyacantha</i> , L. <i>Cotoneaster bacillaris</i> , Wall. <i>microphylla</i> , Wall. <i>nummularia</i> , F. & M.	Hawthorn	10-11,000	Tree Tree Shrub Shrub	White White White White or pink	Forest Rocky ground	Vern. <i>rauns</i> . Wood used for walking-sticks.
<i>Saxifragaceae</i> : <i>Saxifraga diversifolia</i> , Wall. <i>ligulata</i> , Wall., var. <i>ciliata</i>	Saxifrage	8-11,000 7-9,000	H H	Yellow White or pink	Near water Rocks	A. Conspicuous at all times by its large fleshy leaves.

Botanical Name	English Name	Elevation in feet	Tree or Shrub, etc.	Colour of flowers	Locality	Further particulars
<i>Saxifraga Hirculus</i> , L.						
• <i>sibirica</i> , L.		10-12,000	H	Green-yellow	Grassy banks	A.
• <i>Stracheyi</i> , Hook, f. & T.		11-12,000	H	White		
		11-12,000	H	White or pink		Similar in habit to <i>S. ligulata</i> , but it is found at much higher elevations.
<i>Parnassia ovata</i> , Ledeb.	Grass of Parnassus	8-10,000	H	White	Margs, wet ground	
<i>Ribes rubrum</i> , L.	Red currant	.	Shrub	Greenish yellow	Forest	
• <i>glaciale</i> , Wall.		11-12,000	Shrub	Green	Forest	
<i>Crassulaceae:</i>						
<i>Sedum quadrifidum</i> , Pall.	Stonecrop	11-12,000		Red	Rocks	
• <i>linearifolium</i> , Royle.		11-12,000		White	Rocks	
• <i>tibeticum</i> , Hook, f. & T.		11-12,000		Red	Rocks	
• <i>adenotrichum</i> , Wall.				White with pink stripes	Rocks	
• <i>Rhodiola</i> , DC.		10-12,000		Yellow	Rocks	
• <i>Ewersii</i> , Ledeb.		8-10,000		Red	Rocks	
<i>Datisacae:</i>						
<i>Datisca cannabina</i> , L.		7,000			Plains near water	A.
<i>Hamamelidaceae:</i>						
<i>Parrotia Jacquemontiana</i> , Dene.		8,000	Tree	White	Forest	The twigs are much used for making bridges, and the close-grained wood is used for a variety of purposes. When in fruit it is sometimes mistaken for the hazel. Vern., <i>piasser</i> or <i>po</i> . The medicine known as hazeline is prepared from a species of an allied genus, <i>Hamamelis</i> .

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<i>Histagaceae</i>						
<i>Hippuris vulgaris</i> , L.	Mare's tail		H	Green	Watr	
<i>Myriophyllum spicatum</i> , L.	Water milfoil		H	Green	Water	
<i>Callitriche verna</i> , L.	Water starwort		H	Green	Water	
<i>Onagraceae</i>						
<i>Epilobium angustifolium</i> , L.	Bay, or French willow		H	Rose purple	Banks of streams	
" <i>roseum</i> , Schreb.				Pink		
<i>Circaea alpina</i> , L.	Enchanter's nightshade		H	White	Forest	
" <i>lutetiana</i> , L.			H	White	Forest	
<i>Umbelliferae</i>						
<i>Eryngium caeruleum</i> , Bieb.	Hare's ear	6-7,000	H	Yellow	Rocks	A.
<i>Bupleurum falcatum</i> , L.	"		H	Dark brown	High margs	
" <i>longicaule</i> , Wall.	"		H	Yellow	Forest	
" <i>lanceolatum</i> , Wall.	"		H	Yellow	Forest	
" <i>Candollii</i> , Wall.			H	White	High margs	
<i>Pimpinella Saxifraga</i> , L., var. <i>dissectifolia</i>	Burnet saxifrage	11-12,000	H			
" <i>diversifolia</i> , DC.	Chervil	9-10,000	H	White	Forest	
<i>Chaerophyllum villosum</i> , Wall.	Beaked parsley	8-9,000	H	White	Forest	
<i>Anthriscus nemorosa</i> , Spreng.		9-11,000	H	White	Grassy spots	A.
<i>Selinum tenuifolium</i> , Wall.		9,000	H	White	Shady streams	A tall handsome species.
<i>Pleurospermum angelicoides</i> , Benth.						
<i>Archangelica officinalis</i> , Hoffm.	Cow parsnip	9,000	H	Yellow	Open	A. Very handsome.
<i>Ferula Jaeschkeana</i> , Vatte		8-9,000		White	Open	
<i>Heracleum candicans</i> , Wall.		8-9,000	H			

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<i>Araliaceae:</i> <i>Aralia cachemirica</i> , Dene.						
<i>Hedera Helix</i> , L.	Ivy	8-9,000	Small shrub		On trees and rocks	
<i>Caprifoliaceae:</i> <i>Adoxa Moschatellina</i> , var. <i>inodora</i> , L.	Moschatel	6-10,000	H	White	Forest	Abundant near villages.
<i>Sambucus Ebulus</i> , L.	Dwarf elder	10-12,000	Shrub	White or pink	Waste ground	
<i>Viburnum cotinifolium</i> , Don.			Tree	White or pink	Forest	Allied to the English Wayfaring tree, <i>V. Lantana</i> .
" <i>foetens</i> , Dene.			Shrub		Outskirts of forest	Branches foetid. The sweet fruit is much eaten by the Kashmiris. Vern., <i>Kilmich</i> .
" <i>nervosum</i> , Don.		9-12,000	Shrub	Rose	High forest	The flowers often open before the leaves have expanded.
<i>Lonicera quinquelocularis</i> , Hardw.	Honeysuckle	9-10,000	Shrub or small tree	Yellow	Forest	
" <i>hispidula</i> , Pall.	"	10-11,000	Shrub	Pink	Forest	
" <i>orientalis</i> , Lam.	"	7-8,000	Small tree	Pink	Forest	
" <i>purpurascens</i> , Walp.	"	8-12,000	Shrub	Purple	Forest	
" <i>obovata</i> , Royle.	"	11-12,000	Shrub	Cream		
" <i>spinosa</i> , Jacquem.	"	11-12,000	Shrub	White		
" <i>alpigena</i> , L.	"	9,000	Small tree	Pink		
<i>Rubiaceae:</i> <i>Rubia cordifolia</i> , L.	Indian madder		H	Red		Climbing over shrubs.
<i>Galium triflorum</i> , Michx.	Yellow bedstraw		H	White	Forest	Habit of Sweet Woodruff.
" <i>verum</i> , L.	Northern bedstraw		H	Yellow		
" <i>boreale</i> , L.			H	White		

Botanical Name	English Name	Elevation in feet	Tree or Shrub, etc.	Colour of flowers	Locality	Further particulars
<i>Valerianaceae:</i> <i>Valeriana Hardwickii</i> , Wall. • var. <i>acuminata</i> • <i>Wallichii</i> , DC. • <i>pyrolaeifolia</i> , Dene.	Valerian • •	7-8,000 10,000 10-11,000	H H H H	White White White White or pink	Forest	Yields a perfume. Yields a perfume.
<i>Dipsacaceae:</i> <i>Morina Coulteriana</i> , Royle. • <i>longifolia</i> , Wall.	Whorl-flower Long-leaved whorl flower	8-9,000 8-9,000	H H	Yellow Red	Open Open	
<i>Dipsacus strictus</i> , D. Don. <i>Scabiosa spectiosa</i> , Royle.	Teasle Scabious	9-10,000 8-9,000	H H	Pale yellow Mauve, rarely white	Margs Margs	Flowers in compact globular heads.
<i>Compositae:</i> <i>Solidago Virgaurea</i> , L. <i>Aster diplostaphioides</i> , Benth. & Hook. f. • <i>asperulus</i> , Wall. <i>Erigeron multiradiatus</i> , Benth. & Hook. f. • <i>alpinus</i> , L.	Golden-rod Starwort • Flea-bane Alpine flea-bane	11-13,000 8-9,000 10-12,000 8-13,000	H H H H H	Yellow Blue Lilac Blue Blue, lilac, or white	Forest High margs Forest High margs Open	Flowers large and handsome. A very variable plant.
<i>Leontopodium alpinum</i> , Cass. <i>Anaphalis cuneifolia</i> , Hook. f. <i>Gnaphalium luteo-album</i> , L. <i>Inula racemosa</i> , Hook. f. • <i>Royleana</i> , DC.	"Edelweiss" •	8-13,000 11-12,000	H H H H H	Yellow Yellow Yellow	Open Bushy places Bushy places	Very variable as to habit and size. Habit of an Everlasting. Tall, handsome plant, with large heads of flowers in racemes. Heads of flowers solitary, and very handsome. Aitchison says that the root of this plant is used for adul- terating <i>Kul</i> .
<i>Achillea Millefolium</i> , L.	Milfoil		H	White		

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<i>Tanacetum longifolium</i> , Wall. " <i>robustum</i> , Hook. f. & T. <i>Artemisia vulgaris</i> , L.	Tansy Wormwood or mug-wort	10-13,000 10-12,000	H H H	Yellow Yellow	Open Open	Other species probably occur at Gulmarg. A.
<i>Cremanthodium reniforme</i> , Benth. <i>Doronicum Roylei</i> , DC. <i>Senecio chenopodiifolius</i> , DC. " <i>Ligularia</i> , Hook. f.	Leopard's bane Rag-weed	11-13,000 10-12,000 8-9,000 8-9,000	H H H H	Yellow Yellow Yellow	Open ground Forest Wet ground in shade	
" <i>Jacquemontianus</i> , Benth. " <i>Thomsoni</i> , C. B. Clarke " <i>chrysanthemoides</i> , DC.		12-13,000	H	Yellow	Open	Abundant on the margs, especially where cattle are in the habit of grazing.
<i>Carduus nutans</i> , L.	Musk, or Scotch thistle	8-12,000	H	Yellow or orange Purple		
<i>Cnicus arvensis</i> , Hoffm. " <i>Falconeri</i> , Hook. f.	Plume thistle		H H	Dull purple Pale yellow	Margs Margs	A tall handsome thistle.
<i>Sausurea Atkinsoni</i> , C. B. Clarke " <i>Kunthiana</i> , C. B. Clarke " <i>Lappa</i> , C. B. Clarke		10-13,000 11-13,500 9-12,000	H H H	Purple	Rocks Rocks Amongst much shrubs	Close-growing, on stony ground. A. An important article of commerce, the root stalk. Vern., <i>Kál</i> . A.
<i>Jurinea ceratocarpa</i> , Benth. & Hook. f. " <i>macrocephala</i> , Benth.		9-12,000	H	Bluish purple Light purple	Rocks Rocky ground	A.
<i>Serratula pallida</i> , DC. <i>Ainsliea aptera</i> , DC. <i>Lapsana communis</i> , L. <i>Pterotheca Falconeri</i> , Hook. f. <i>Taraxacum officinale</i> , Weber	Saw-wort Nipple-wort Dandelion	8-9,000 8-12,000	H H H H H	White Yellow Yellow	Forest Open	The leaves are eaten as <i>ság</i> , and the plant is also used medicinally by Kashmiris.

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<i>Lactuca dissecta</i> , D. Don.	Lettuce	8-9,000	H	Blue	Banks and paths	
' Lessertiana, C. B. Clarke	'	10-12,000	H	Blue	High margs	
' decipiens, C. B. Clarke	'	8-10,000	H	Blue	Forest	
<i>Prenanthes Brunonianana</i> , Wall.		8-9,000	H	Rose purple	Forest	
<i>Campanulaceae:</i>						
<i>Codonopsis rotundifolia</i> , Royle		9-12,000	H	Grey-blue		
<i>Codonopsis ovata</i> , Benth.		10-11,000	H	Blue	Rocks	
<i>Phyteuma Thomsoni</i> , C. B. Clarke		8-9,000	H	Blue	Forest	
<i>Campanula argyrotricha</i> , Wall.	Bell-flower		H	Purple	Rocks	
' latifolia, L.			H	Dark blue, or white	Forest	
' aristata, Wall.		11-12,000	H		High margs	
<i>Ericaceae:</i>						
<i>Cassiope fastigiata</i> , D. Don.		13,000	Small shrub	White	Open	
<i>Rhododendron campanulatum</i> , D. Don		13,000	Shrub	Lilac	Birch forests	
' lepidotum, Wall.		11-12,000	Shrub	Yellow	Open	
' Anthopogon, D. Don		12,000	Shrub	Pink and whitish	Amongst juniper	
<i>Monotropaceae:</i>						
<i>Hypocipithys lanuginosa</i> , Rafin		8-9,000	H	Pale yellow	Forest	Leafless fleshy parasite, common about Gulmarg under pine trees.
<i>Primulaceae:</i>						
<i>Primula denticulata</i> , Sm.		10-12,000	H	Purple	Open	
' var. <i>erosioides</i>		8-9,000	H	Lilac	Open	
' elliptica, Royle		12-13,000	H	Purple	Open	A.
' Stuartii, var. <i>purpurea</i> , Wall.		10-13,000	H	Purple	Wet ground	
' rosea, Royle		8-13,000	H	Deep rose	Wet ground	

Botanical Name	English Name	Elevation in feet	Tree or Shrub, etc.	Colour of flowers	Locality	Further particulars
<i>Androsace rotundifolia</i> , Hardw. " <i>var. glandulosa</i> " <i>sempervivoides</i> , Jacquem. " <i>villosa</i> , L. " <i>sarmentosa</i> , var. " <i>primuloides</i> , Wall.		8-10,000 8-9,000 10-12,000 12-13,000	H H H H H	Lilac White Lilac Lilac with yellow eye Rose purple, with yellow eye	Rocks Rocks High margs Open Open	
<i>Cortusa Matthioli</i> , L.	Bear's ear sanicle	8-12,000	H	Purple	Shady slopes	
<i>Oleaceae:</i> <i>Jasminum humile</i> , L. <i>Syringe Emodi</i> , Wall.	Himalayan lilac	8-11,000 9-12,000	Shrub Small tree or shrub	Yellow White	Forest Forest	
<i>Fraxinus excelsior</i> , L. " <i>xanthoxyloides</i> , Wall.	Ash	8-9,000 8-9,000	Tree Tree	Green Green	Forest Forest	
<i>Asclepiadaceae:</i> <i>Cynanchum Vincetoxicum</i> , Pers.		8-9,000	H	Green	Sunny slopes	
<i>Gentianaceae:</i> <i>Gentiana decumbens</i> , L. f. " <i>venusta</i> , Wall. " <i>tenella</i> , Roth. " <i>carinata</i> , var. <i>marginata</i> , Griseb. <i>Jaeschkea latispala</i> , C. B. Clarke	Gentian	8-9,000 11-12,000 9-13,000 8-12,000	H H H H H	Purple Blue Blue Blue Blue	Rocky ground Rocks Stony grassy ground Open grassy ground Rocky ground	A. A. Common at Gulmarg. Root very bitter.
<i>Swertia petiolata</i> , Royle.			H	Whitish with blue green nerves	Wet ground	
<i>Polemoniaceae:</i> <i>Polemonium caeruleum</i> , L.	Jacob's ladder	8-10,000	H	Blue	Margs	Very common at Gulmarg.

Botanical Name	English Name	Elevation in feet	Tree or Shrub, etc.	Colour of flowers	Locality	Further particulars
<i>Bongivaceae:</i> <i>Heliotropium strigosum</i> , Willd. <i>Trichodesma indicum</i> , Br. <i>Cynoglossum denticulatum</i> , A. DC. <i>Lindelia spectabilis</i> , Lehm. <i>Solenanthes circinatus</i> , Ledeb. <i>Paracaryum glochidiatum</i> , Benth. & Hook, f. <i>Lycopsis arvensis</i> , L.	Hound's tongue Small bugloss	8-9,000 8-9,000 8-9,000	H H H H H H	White Blue Blue Blue Yellow Deep blue		
<i>Mertensia primuloides</i> , C. B. Clarke <i>Moltkia parviflora</i> , C. B. Clarke <i>Myosotis sylvatica</i> , Hoffm. <i>Macrotomia Benthani</i> , DC.	Wood forget-me-not	11-13,000 8,000 8-13,000 9-11,000	H H H H	Blue, purple or white Sky blue Deep blue or white Pink to purple	Stony ground Under trees Open	South and west exposure. A.
<i>Convolvulaceae:</i> <i>Cuscuta reflexa</i> , Roxb.	Dodder		H	White		Leafless parasite climbing over bushes.
<i>Solanaceae:</i> <i>Solanum nigrum</i> , L. <i>Atropa Belladonna</i> , L.	Garden night-shade Deadly night-shade		H H H	White Violet or yellow Yellow		
<i>Physochlaina praealtia</i> , Miers <i>Scrophulariaceae:</i> <i>Verbascum Thapsus</i> , L.	Mullein	9,000	H	Yellow		Tall plant with flowers on a thick spike.

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<i>Scrophularia calycina</i> , Benth. " <i>lucida</i> , L. " <i>variegata</i> , Bieb. <i>Pterorhiza Kurroa</i> , Royle	Figwort " "	9-10,000 8-12,000 10-12,000	H H H H	Green Purple Purple Dark blue	Open	Flowers dimorphic, the form with long stamens has greenish flowers. The root used as a medicine.
Wulfenia <i>Amherstiana</i> , Benth.		8-9,000	H	Blue	Shady banks and rocks Open	
<i>Veronica ciliata</i> , Fisch. " <i>laxa</i> , Benth. " <i>serpyllifolia</i> , L.	Speedwell Thyme leaved speedwell	10-13,000 9,000	H H H	Blue Blue Blue and white	Open ground	Very characteristic plant on the margins, and conspicuous in the month of May.
" <i>capitata</i> , Benth. " <i>deltigera</i> , Wall. " <i>Anagallis</i> , L.	Water speedwell	11-12,000	H H H	Blue Blue Pink or purplish	Open Rocks Near water	
" <i>Beccabunga</i> , L. <i>Euphrasia officinalis</i> , L.	Brooklime Eye-bright	9-12,000 8-12,000	H H	Blue or pink White or lilac with purple veins	Near water Open	
<i>Pedicularis siphonantha</i> , D. Don. " <i>brevifolia</i> , D. Don.	Louse-wort	8-10,000 11,000	H H	Red Pink	Near water Amongst grass	Noted for its scented flowers. A.
" <i>rhinanthoides</i> , Schrenk " <i>versicolor</i> , Wahlb.	" "	9-10,000 11-13,000	H H	Pink Yellow	Near water Grassy ground	A.
" <i>pectinata</i> , Wall " <i>bicornuta</i> , Klotzsch " <i>Oederi</i> , Vahl.	" " "	12-13,000 10-11,000 11-12,000	H H H	Red Yellow Cream and purple	Forest Open High margins	A very handsome species.

Botanical Name	English Name	Elevation in feet	Tree or Shrub, etc.	Colour of flowers	Locality	Further particulars
<i>Orobanchaceae:</i> Orobancha Epithymum, DC. Boschniakia himalaica, Hook. f. & T.						
<i>Selaginaceae:</i> Lagotis glauca, J. Gaertn.		8,000 8,000	H			On thyme and other herbs. A. On Rhododendron campanulatum at Ban-bul-nag. A.
<i>Lentibulariaceae:</i> Utricularia flexuosa, Vahl.		8-13,000	H	Hyacinth blue	Stony ground	A.
<i>Verbenaceae:</i> Verbena officinalis, L.		9,000	H	Fls. yellow	In water	A.
<i>Labiatae:</i> Plectranthus rugosus, Wall.	Common vervain	8-9,000	H	Blue		
Mentha sylvestris, L. Origanum vulgare, L. Thymus Serpyllum, L. Calar' intha umbrosa, F. & M. " Clinopodium, Benth. Savia glutinosa, L. " plebeja, R. Br. " hians, Royle	Horse-mint Wild marjoram Wild thyme Calamint Wild basil Jupiter's distaff Kashmir sage	7-8,000 8-12,000 7-9,000 8-12,000	Small shrub H H H H H H H	White with purple spots Lilac Purple Purple Purple Purple Yellow Dark blue	Outskirts of forest Open ground Open ground Forest Open ground	Called <i>podina</i> by the natives.
Nepeta linearis, Royle " spicata, Benth. " Govaniana, Benth. " erecta, Benth. " connata, Royle	Cat-mint " " " "	8-9,000 8-9,000 11-13,000	H H H H H	Lilac Pale blue Yellow Blue Blue or white	Open ground Open Forest Open	A characteristic marg plant, and very handsome.

Botanical Name	English Name	Elevation in feet	Tree or Shrub, etc.	Colour of flowers	Locality	Further particulars
<i>Nepeta ciliaris</i> , Benth. , <i>raphanorhiza</i> , Benth. <i>Scutellaria prostrata</i> , Jacquem.	Cat-mint Skull-cap Self-heal	6-8,000	H H H H	Lilac Lilac Yellow tipped with lilac Purple or white	Gravelly banks Open	A. Also called "Prunella".
<i>Prunella vulgaris</i> , L. <i>Stachys sylvatica</i> , L. , <i>sericea</i> , Wall.	Archangel	7-8,000 8-11,000	H H	Pink Pink, spotted with purple Rose or white White		
<i>Leonurus Cardiaea</i> , L. <i>Lamium album</i> , L.	Mother-wort White dead nettle		H H			
<i>Phlomis bracteosa</i> , Royle		8-12,000	H	Purple	Open	Common on the margs.
<i>Plantagineae</i> : <i>Plantago lanceolata</i> , L. , <i>brachyphylla</i> , Edgew major, L.	Rib-grass Greater plantain	10-11,000	H H H		Open stony ground	
<i>Amaranthaceae</i> : <i>Amaranthus paniculatus</i> , L.		9,000	H	Yellow or red		Cultivated for its grain.
<i>Chenopodiaceae</i> : <i>Chenopodium Blitum</i> , F. Muell.	Strawberry spinach	8-9,000	H			Fruit bright red, and somewhat like that of the strawberry.
<i>Phytolaccaceae</i> : <i>Phytolacca acinosa</i> , Roxb.	Indian poke	9,000	H			Leaves used as a pot-herb.
<i>Polygonaceae</i> : <i>Polygonum alpinum</i> , All.	Alpine knot-weed	6-7,000	H		Forest	

Botanical Name	English Name	Elevation in feet	Tree or Shrub, etc.	Colour of flowers	Locality	Further particulars
<i>Polygonum polystachyum</i> , Wall. " <i>amplexicaule</i> , D. Don.		8-10,000 8-9,000	H H	Crimson or white	Grassy land Forest	A.
" <i>rumicifolium</i> , Royle.		11,000	H		Open grassy spots	A.
" <i>affine</i> , D. Don.					High open	
" <i>Hydropiper</i> , L.	Water pepper	10-13,000	H	Crimson	Wet ground	
<i>Rheum Webbianum</i> , Royle	Rhubarb	8-9,000	H		High open	
		11-13,000	H		rocky ground	
<i>Oxyria digyna</i> , Hill	Mountain sorrel	9-13,000	H		Sides of streams	
<i>Rumex Acetosella</i> , L.						
" <i>hastatus</i> , D. Don.	Sheep's sorrel	11-12,000 8-10,000	H H		Rocky ground	
" <i>nepalensis</i> , Spreng.			H		Sheep pastures	
<i>Thymelacaceae</i> :						
<i>Daphne cannabina</i> , Wall.						
" <i>oleoides</i> , Schreb.	Olive-leaved daphne	7-11,000	Shrub	Yellow-green	Hillsides	Forms most of under-shrub at Gulmarg. Leaves yield a charming colour. Fibre not used in Kashmir. A. Used medicinally.
<i>Elacagnaceae</i> :						
<i>Elacagnus umbellata</i> , Thunb.		7,000	Shrub			
		6,000	Shrub		Amongst scrub	
<i>Loranthaceae</i> :						
<i>Arceuthobium minutissimum</i> , Hook. f.		8-11,000	Small shrub	Yellow-green	Branches of Pinus excelsa	A minute parasite, abundant at Gulmarg, where it does considerable damage to trees. First discovered in Western Nepal in 1884.

Botanical Name	English Name	Elevation in feet	Tree or Shrub, etc.	Colour of flowers	Locality	Further particulars
<i>Euphorbiaceae:</i> <i>Euphorbia pilosa</i> , L. " <i>var. cognata</i> " <i>thyrsoldea</i> , Boiss. " <i>Stracheyi</i> , Boiss. " <i>Wallichii</i> , Hook. f. <i>Sarcococca prunifolmis</i> , Lindl.	Hairy spurge	7-9,000 8-11,000 8-9,000 12,000 8,500-11,000 8-9,000	H H H H H Shrub		Margs Margs High open ground Margs Forest	Very handsome and showy. A.
<i>Urticaceae:</i> <i>Urtica dioica</i> , L. <i>Ulmus Wallichiana</i>	Stinging-nettle Elm		H Tree	Green Green	Waste ground Forest	Very handsome tree. A.
<i>Juglandaceae:</i> <i>Juglans regia</i> , L.	Walnut	6-9,000	Tree	Green	Forest	
<i>Cupuliferae:</i> <i>Betula utilis</i> , D. Don	Indian birch	9-12,000	Tree	Greenish yellow	Upper forest level	In addition to the well-known paper bark, the foliage is largely used for feeding sheep. The nuts, which are smaller than those of the European hazel, are much eaten.
<i>Corylus Columna</i> , L.	Constantinople hazel	9-11,000	Tree			
<i>Salicaceae:</i> <i>Salix Wallichiana</i> , Anderss. " <i>hastata</i> , L. " <i>flabellaris</i> , Anderss. " <i>elegans</i> , Wall.	Willow " " " "	12,000 9-10,000	Shrub Shrub Shrub			
<i>Coniferae:</i> <i>Juniperus recurva</i> , Buch.-Ham.	Drooping Indian juniper	10-11,000	Shrub			

Botanical Name	English Name	Elevation in feet	Tree or Shrub, etc.	Colour of flowers	Locality	Further particulars
<i>Taxus baccata</i> , L.	Yew		Tree		Forest	
<i>Pinus excelsa</i> , Wall.	Blue pine	7-11,000	Tree		Forest	
<i>Cedrus Libani</i> , Barrel. var. <i>Deodara</i>	Deodar	8,000	Tree		Forest	
<i>Picea Morinda</i> , Link	Himalayan spruce	10-11,000	Tree		Forest	
<i>Abies Webbiana</i> , Lindl.	Himalayan silver fir	8-11,000	Tree		Forest	
<i>Orchideae:</i>						
<i>Microstylis muscifera</i> , Rid.		8-9,000	H		Forest	
<i>Neottia listeroides</i> , Lindl.	Bird's nest orchis	8-9,000	H	Green	Under trees	
<i>Cephalanthera ensifolia</i> , Rich.		8-9,000	H	White	Forest	
<i>Goodyera fusca</i> , Lindl.		7-9,000	H	Green tinged with purple	Forest	
<i>Epipactis latifolia</i> , All.	Helleborine		H		Forest	
<i>Hermidium pugioniforme</i> , Lindl.		12,000	H			A.
<i>Orchis latifolia</i> , L.	Marsh orchis	8-9,000	H	Red-purple	Wet ground	
<i>Cypripedium cordigerum</i> , D. Don	Lady's slipper	8-9,000	H	White	Forest	
<i>Haemodorumaceae:</i>						
<i>Ophiopogon intermedius</i> , D. Don			H	White	Forest	The flowers resemble "Lily of the Valley".
<i>Iridaceae:</i>						
<i>Iris kamaonensis</i> , Wall.			H	Red-purple	Open	
<i>Amaryllidaceae:</i>						
<i>Hypoxis aurea</i> , Lour.			H	Yellow		
<i>Dioscoreaceae:</i>						
<i>Dioscorea</i> sp.		7-8,000				

Botanical Name	English Name	Elevation in feet	Tree or Shrub, etc.	Colour of flowers	Locality	Further particulars
<i>Liliaceae:</i> <i>Polygonatum verticillatum</i> , All.	Whorled Solomon's-seal	8-9,000	H	White	Forest	
<i>Eremurus himalaicus</i> , Baker		8-9,000	H	White	Open hillsides	Very handsome, with its tall dense spikes of flowers.
<i>Allium Govanianum</i> , Wall.	Himalayan white lily	10-11,000 9,000	H H	White White within, with purple streaks	High open Forest	Flowers sweet-scented.
<i>Fritillaria Roylei</i> , Hook.	Fritillary	9-11,000	H	Greenish yellow, with purple spots		
<i>Gagea lutea</i> , Ker-Gawl.	Star of Bethlehem	12,000	H	Yellow	Open grassy ground	
<i>Lloydia serotina</i> , Sweet	Mountain spiderwort	10-11,000	H	White	Rocks	
<i>Trillium Govanianum</i> , Wall.	Wood-lily	10,000	H	Reddish brown	Forest	
<i>Juncaceae:</i> <i>Juncus glaucus</i> , Sibth.	Hard rush	7,000	H		Near water	
• <i>bufonius</i> , L.	Toad rush	8-9,000	H		Near water	
• <i>himalensis</i> , Klotzsch.		9-10,000	H			
• <i>membranaceus</i> , Royle		11,000	H			
• <i>concinus</i> , D. Don.		8-9,000	H			
<i>Luzula</i> sp.	Wood rush					A.
<i>Naiadaceae:</i> <i>Potamogeton natans</i> , L.	Broad pond-weed		H	Green	Water	
<i>Cyperaceae:</i> <i>Eleocharis palustris</i> , R. Br.	Spike rush	8-9,000	H		Near water	

Botanical Name	English Name	Elevation in feet	Tree or Shrub, etc.	Colour of flowers	Locality	Further particulars
<i>Kobresia capillifolia</i> , C. B. Clarke	Sedge	10-12,000	H		High open	Emits during the process of drying a sweet odour due to the presence of <i>cuminin</i> , a substance found also in Sweet Woodruff. A good pasture grass in England. This is what is known as the poisonous grass of Kashmir.
<i>Carex obscura</i> , Nees		9-10,000	H			
• <i>psychrophila</i> , Nees		8-9,000	H		High open	
• <i>inanis</i> , Kunth.		8-9,000	H			
• <i>cruenta</i> , Nees		10-11,000	H			
<i>Gramineae:</i>						
<i>Pennisetum triflorum</i> , Nees	Holygrass	7-9,000	H		Margs	
<i>Rotboellia speciosa</i> , Hack.		8-9,000	H		High open	
<i>Andropogon Gryllus</i> , L.		8-9,000	H			
<i>Hierochloa laxa</i> , R. Br.		11-12,000	H			
<i>Alopecurus pratensis</i> , L.	Meadow foxtail	8-9,000	H		Margs	
<i>Stipa sibirica</i> , Lam.		7-9,000	H		Forest	
<i>Oryopsis</i> sp.			H		Forest	
<i>Millium effusum</i> , L.		8-9,000	H			
<i>Muchlenbergia</i> sp.		8-9,000	H		High margs	
<i>Phleum alpinum</i> , L.			H			
<i>Agrostis</i> spp.	Small reed		H			
<i>Calamagrostis</i> sp.			H			
<i>Deschampsia caespitosa</i> , Beauv.		10-12,000	H		High open	
<i>Trisetum subspicatum</i> , Beauv.		10-12,000	H		High open	
<i>Koeleria cristata</i> , Pers.	Mountain melick	8-12,000	H		Margs	
<i>Eragrostis poaeoides</i> , Beauv.			H			
<i>Melica nutans</i> , L.			H			
<i>Dactylis glomerata</i> , L.			H		Margs	
<i>Briza media</i> , L.	Cock's-foot grass		H		Margs	
	Common		H			
	Quaker-grass					

Botanical Name	English Name	Elevation in feet	Tree or Shrub, etc.	Colour of flowers	Locality	Further particulars
<i>Poa pratensis</i> , L. " <i>trivialis</i> , L.	Meadow poa Roughish poa		H H H H H H H H		Margs Margs and forest High open Margs High open Margs Forest Forest	A good grazing grass for sheep.
" <i>laxa</i> , Haenke " <i>annua</i> , L. " <i>alpina</i> , L. <i>Festuca ovina</i> , L. <i>Bromus</i> spp. <i>Brachypodium sylvaticum</i> , Beauv.	Annual poa Alpine poa Sheep's fescue Brome grass Slender false-broom	10-12,000 10-12,000				
<i>Filices:</i> <i>Cystopteris fragilis</i> , Bernh. " <i>montana</i> , Link <i>Adiantum venustum</i> , Don <i>Cheilanthes fragrans</i> , Webb & Berth. <i>Onychium multisectum</i> , F. Henders. <i>Cryptogramme crispa</i> , R. Br. " <i>Brunonianum</i> , Wall. <i>Pellaea gracilis</i> , Hook. " <i>nitidula</i> , Wall.	Brittle bladder-fern Parsley fern	9,000 8-9,000 8-12,000 11-12,000 11-12,000	H H H H H H H H H H H		Rocks Rocks Shady banks Rocks Forest Open Rocks Shady rocks Dry rocks	A. Used as a medicine A.
<i>Pteris cretica</i> , L. " <i>quadriaurita</i> , Retz. " <i>aquilina</i> , L. <i>Botrychium Lunaria</i> , Sev. <i>Ophioglossum vulgatum</i> , L. <i>Asplenium alternans</i> , Wall. " <i>septentrionale</i> , Hoffm.	Bracken fern Moon-wort Adder's tongue Forked spleenwort	8,000 5-8,000	H H H H H H		Open and forest In forest Grassy land Shady banks Rock crevices	

Botanical Name	English Name	Elevation in feet	Tree or Shrub, etc.	Colour of flowers	Locality	Further particulars
<i>Aspidium fontanum</i> , Bernh.	Rock spleenwort	8-9,000	H		Rock crevices	
" <i>viride</i> , Hunds.	Green spleenwort	9-11,000	H		Rock crevices	
" <i>Trichomanes</i> , L.	Maidenhair spleenwort	8-9,000	H		Shady rocks	
" <i>varians</i> , HK. & Grv.		8-9,000	H		Shady rocks	
" <i>Filix-foemina</i> , Bernh.	Lady fern	8-9,000	H		Forest	
" <i>thelypteroides</i> , Michx.		11-12,000	H		Near water	
<i>Aspidium Prescottianum</i> , Hook.	Holly fern	8-9,000	H		High open	
" <i>Lonchitis</i> , Swartz.	Prickly shield fern	8-9,000	H		Forest	
" <i>aculeatum</i> , Swartz.			H		Forest	
<i>Nephrodium nemorale</i> , Hope, M. S.		8-9,000	H		Forest	
" <i>pungabense</i> , Hope, M. S.	Male fern		H		forest	
" <i>Filix-mas</i> , Rich		8-9,000	H		Forest	
" <i>var. parallelogramma</i>			H		Rocks in forest	
" <i>barbigerum</i> , Hook.		10-12,000			High open	
" <i>Brunonianum</i> , Hook.		10-12,000	H		High open	
<i>Polypodium clathratum</i> , C. B. Clarke		12-13,000	H		Rock	
" <i>Phegopteris</i> , L.	Beech fern	8-9,000			crevices	
" <i>Dryopteris</i> , L.	Oak fern	8-9,000	H		Shady banks	
<i>Gymnogramma Levingei</i> , Baker			H		Shady banks	P. Robertianum, Hoffm.
<i>Osmunda Claytoniana</i> , L.		8-12,000	H		Forest and high open	
<i>Lygodium japonicum</i> , Swartz.			H			A climbing fern.

CHAPTER XVIII

KASHMIR MISGOVERNMENT

Let us pause there for a moment to review our position. I have, I think, conclusively shown that the cry of oppression in Cashmere, so far from being nonsensical, as was falsely declared by the Calcutta Englishman of 12th February, 1868, has but too good cause for its efforts to obtain a hearing - efforts which would seem to have been hitherto in vain, alike in their appeal to the justice of the British Government, and the humanity of the Anglo-Indian public.

I have also shown that we deliberately forced upon a more than 'reluctant' people, a despotic Government of the very worst description, at whose head was a ruler of a character held infamous, even by natives of the East.

I have, therefore, I conceive, shown that towards the people of Cashmere we have committed a wanton outrage, a gross injustice, and an act of tyrannical oppression, which violates every humane and honourable sentiment, which is opposed to the whole spirit of modern civilisation, and is in direct opposition to every tenet of the religion we profess.

It remains for us to ascertain whether reparation towards those whom we have thus injured be still possible without the committing of any fresh piece of injustice.

The Article IV of the above treaty has been in more than one instance broken by the Jamoo Government, the following extract from Major Cunningham's 'Ladak' will, I conceive, sufficiently prove:

"In the autumn of 1846, during the rebellion of Sheikh Inaun-ud-Deen in Cashmere, there was a slight disturbance in Zaskar, which was promptly repressed by the Vizier Basti Ram who is now one of the confidential servants of Maharaja Gulab Singh. Since then the whole country has been quiet, and the passive Thibetans have yielded to a power which they find it unsafe to resist. The neighbouring countries of Gilgit and Chillas have been added to the Maharajah's kingdom; and the same prince whose dominions only

twenty years ago were limited to the petty state of Jamoo, now rules on, undisputed master of Cashmere and Western Thibet, from the sources of the Shayok to the head of the Gilgit river."

These are instances in which the Jamoo Government has violated the Treaty of 1846; but there is another of more recent occurrence, and which is not generally known in India, and of which the home authorities must be in total ignorance.

In accordance with Article II of the Treaty, three officers were appointed by the British Government to survey and determine the 'limits of the eastern boundary of the tract transferred to the Maharajah'. These were, Major Cunningham, Lieutenant Strachey and Dr. Thompson. The map, therefore, published by Major Cunningham with his work on Ladak (to which I have just referred) may be considered to show correctly, not only the eastern boundary, but the limits of those other portions of the Maharajah's dominions which he helped to survey, as they existed at the time such survey was made.

The north-eastern boundary of the Maharajah's dominion is defined in Major Cunningham's map to be the water-shed of the Kara-Korum range. Even without the authority of that map, I am justified in assuming that to have been the north-eastern boundary of the Jamoo territories, both because it is the natural boundary of the country of Nubra and its northern valley and ravines and because the Kara-Korum has always been considered as the farthest limit of the Ladak district by the Yarkundis, who dwell on the other side. However, in 1865, the Jamoo Government despatched a small body of troops across the Kara-Korum, with orders to occupy garrisoned fort there, which was done.

Shah'dula is about three days' journey beyond the Kara-Korum pass. The fort was provisioned and occupied by the Jamoo troops during the summer of 1865 and 1866, the force being withdrawn in the winter on account of the severity of the climate. Towards the end of 1866, the newly established ruler of Yarkund and Kashgar had taken the country of Koten and had further strengthened himself by the expulsion or conciliation of those who were disaffected towards the Government.

It was therefore probably from prudential motives that the Jamoo troops were not sent to re-occupy their new fort in the spring of 1867.

Some time during that year, Yakoob Beg sent a handful of men

to Shah'dula, who destroyed the fort and took the supplies and stores with which it was furnished.

It is true that a Government map has recently been published, which shows the boundary line of the Maharajah's territory in this direction to lie along the Kara-Kash River, and which consequently includes Shah'dula within the Jamoo dominions; but this map was not published until the end of 1866, whereas the Maharajah's force went to Shah'dula and erected and garrisoned the fort in the spring of 1865, or earlier. The existence of this map, therefore, cannot be pleaded as having given the Jamoo Government any authority for such extention of territory.

The map in question was founded upon a survey made by Mr. Johnson in the year 1865, after the occupation of Shah'dula by the Jamoo garrison, and the boundary line therein laid down is entirely at variance with that shown in the map which accompanies Major Cunningham's work on Ladak, which was published by Government authority in 1954. The title of the map is, "Map of The Punjab Western Himalaya and Adjoining Part of Thibet, from recent Surveys, and based upon the Trigonometrical Survey of India, compiled by order of the Honourable Court of Directors of the East India Company, by John Walker, Geographer to the Company".

The fact then remains, that the Treaty of March, 1846 has been in several instances broken by the Jamoo Government, and it, therefore, follows that the British Government is not bound by that Treaty to abstain from that interference with the affairs of Cashmere which the miserable condition of the people, the impediments thrown in the way of traders, the exclusion of English travellers, etc., have now for so long demanded.

It may be pleaded by the supporters of the Maharajah, that the countries of Gilgit, Chilas and Astor were annexed by his father many years ago, and that no notice having been taken at the time, it would now be an ungracious act on the part of the British Government to make such infringement of the Treaty a ground for interference. With regard to the matter of the Shah'dula fort, it may be urged that so slight an aggression into a barren and deserted region can scarcely constitute an infraction of the Treaty sufficient to justify the interference of the British Government with the Maharajah's internal administration.

To those and similar considerations the following answers

appear to be sufficient:

First:- That the Jamoo Government has shown itself incapable of just or humane rule.

Second:- That the Jamoo Government has for many years pursued a system of oppression and misrule under the protection and countenance of the British Government.

Third:- That it has consequently become a stigma and a reproach to the British Government, both among the European and native community of India.

Fourth:- That there are no means of rendering the administration of the Jamoo Government consonant with that which should distinguish a power protected by the British Government (see Article IX of the Treaty), except those of active interference.

Fifth:- That the British Government committed an act of gross injustice in forcing the rule of Gulab Singh upon a reluctant people.

Sixth:- That, therefore, to forego the power of making reparation to the people we injured, which the infractions of the Treaty give to the British Government, would be an act of injustice and cruelty scarcely inferior to that which we perpetrated when we sold the people of Cashmere into the slavery of Gulab Singh by the iniquitous Treaty of 1846.

In a word, we cannot exercise generosity towards the Jamoo Government without committing a fresh injustice towards the people to whom we owe reparation.

With regard to the matter of the Shah'dula fort, it should be remembered that, although a slight instance in itself, yet little things have sometimes led to great wars; and that since by Article IX of the Treaty the British Government is to protect the Maharajah against all external enemies, it is obvious that such little encroachments as that of Shah'dula might plunge us into war with all the Mussulman tribes of Central Asia. The Pall Mall Gazette remarks, without any particular comment;- "We believe that it has just been ruled that the Maharajah is at liberty to hold whatever foreign relations he may care to entertain without reference to us." Evidently, the Pall Mall Gazette must be totally ignorant of the nature of the Treaty of 1846, since a glance at Article IX will convince any one that, if the Maharajah is permitted to enter into whatever foreign relations he may please to entertain, he may at any time plunge us into a war with Turkistan, or Bokhara, or with Russia herself.

Suppose, for example, that next year the Maharajah were to send a few troops to occupy a portion of the country beyond his Gilgit boundary, and that Russia had conquered Budhukshan, and concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with that country and Bokhara, and that a force subsidised by a few regiments of Cossacks and Kirghings, officered by Russians, was sent to chastise the Jamoo chief for this temerity by annexing to Russia, the Bokhara territory, say only Gilgit and Astor, and the Valley of the Indus so far as to include Skardo, we should have a pretty little mountain campaign cut out for us, with more formidable opponents than the undisciplined robbers of the Hazara, who are now giving us the trouble of beating them. It is possible that, in the event of such a contingency, our home authorities would re-consider their verdict, that the Maharajah has a 'right' to entertain what foreign relations he pleases, etc., and it may be as well to remember this, that if the Shah'dula affair is not considered of sufficient importance to release us from whatever engagement of non-interference may be implied in Article I of the Treaty, we cannot at any future time plead that any similar act of aggression on the part of the Jamoo Government is a violation of the Treaty and of sufficient importance to release us from our engagements contained in Article IX by which we are bound to protect the Maharajah's Government against all external enemies!

It is to be hoped, however, that our relations with Russia will be those of peace, not war; and that we shall, at no distant period, co-operate with her in spreading the blessings of civilisation and settled Government among oppressed peoples and savage tribes. Should such be our happy destiny, the importance of free trade and unrestricted transit (for Englishmen as well as natives) through Ladakh and Cashmere must be evident enough. On this subject, the following extract from a Russian paper called the *Golos*, of December 1866, which I have taken from a late number of the *Calcutta Review*, is interesting and important.

An amicable division between Russia and England is quite practicable. What has not been conquered by one power might, without any opposition, be conquered by the other, more especially as the advantages of such acquisitions are contested by many.

We even do not see any reason for dissatisfaction in the possibility of our Central Asiatic frontier soon forming the boundary of the Anglo-Indian empire. Such a frontier would, at all

events, determine the commercial fields for the disposal of English and Russian production and would considerably weaken, if not altogether remove, all dangerous rivalry, and that the sale under such circumstances of English and Russian productions would rapidly increase, is evident. The chief obstacles to trade in this region are the incessant depredations and rapacious exactions made by petty Asiatic despots.

All these drawbacks must at once disappear under English and Russian rule, and then an interchange of commodities will freely take place.

The expansion of the frontier to a mutual point of contact between English and Russian territory, will not only decrease the chances of collision between Russia and England, but also conduce to amity and a feeling of friendship between those countries, seeing more especially that a conflict between them in such a distant region would be disadvantageous to both, and only lead to mutual losses.

It is impossible to avoid drawing a mental contrast between the careless indifference with which, on the occasion of the sale of Cashmere, all question of moral right was complacently ignored both by the Government and the public, and the virtuous indignation into which it seems that a large party of the former, and a small proportion of the latter, are thrown at the idea of any transgression of legal right with regard to interference in the affairs of Cashmere.

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That our failure in imbueing the native of India with any regard for the spirit of Christianity has been almost complete, the conduct of the wealthy landowners of Bengal seems sufficiently to prove. I quote, from the *Friend of India* of the 20th August, 1868:-

"No language can be too strong to characterise the selfishness and apathy of the zemindars in the inundated districts to the south of Calcutta, and in Midnapore, as on the occasions of the cyclone of 1864, the Orissa famine of 1866, the Nuddea inundations and the cyclone of 1867, the wealthy landholders of Bengal have been found wanting."

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There is only one question to be asked and answered, with regard to the work, and that is, "Are the statements herein contained concerning the Jamoo Government true or untrue?" And there is only one method by which that question can be answered, namely, by the course which I have myself pursued - of strict and laborious investigation in Cashmere itself.

Should that be done, as it is my earnest wish that it may be, by a Government Commission, the truth or untruth of the charges I have brought against the Jamoo Government will be ascertained.

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Of the futility of the Maharajah's promises, there has been ample proof in the fact that none of these made to Sir Robert Montgomery in 1864, concerning reduction of duties, etc., were kept. The Maharajah affirmed that he had given orders to his officials to carry out the promises, etc., but Dr. Caylay's report from Ladakh, for the season of 1867, showed that no improvement upon the old system had been attempted.

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The Maharajah is, therefore, unable to control his officers in Ladakh, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that he is likewise unable to control them in Cashmere! Nay, it is not just to suppose that the Maharajah's officials in all parts of his dominions act systematically in defiance of their Maharajah's orders and wishes - since the Maharajah is represented as of a humane and benevolent disposition, and desirous to promote the well-being of the subjects for whom he feels himself responsible.

Then, the Maharajah is manifestly unable to carry out his intentions, how thankful he will doubtless feel to the British Government, should they resolve upon furnishing him with the means of protecting his people (for whose welfare he is so laudably anxious) from the rapacity of ministers and officials who must undoubtedly (if the character of the Maharajah claims for himself be true) conduct every branch of the administration in a manner diametrically opposed to the wishes of H. H. the Maharajah of Cashmere and Jamoo.

Robert Thorp: *Cashmere Misgoverned*

CHAPTER XIX

THE COMMERCIAL ARTS

Shawl and carpet making are not the only industrial arts which have survived the ages; it is now over six centuries since King Zain-ul-Ab-ul-Din at the same time as he introduced shawl and carpet making into the country, also encouraged artists to come from Samarqand that they might teach his people "how to make pottery of light weight with paper, and those his subjects who were able to lift the shapes and colours from the flowers and the birds and other beauties they had gazed upon, he had instructed in the art of decorating this paper pottery". There is little doubt that the master artists came from Persia, for to this day papier mâché is known as Kumangiri - that is, the illustrations of the bows and arrows of Persian soldiers, and many of the more lovely productions of the artists who executed their work for those who are able to pay the price of their time, are of the finer Persian design. A small colony of these descendants of the master craftsmen who proudly remind one of their Persian ancestors, still survives in Srinagar and is known as Kumangarpura.

The process of papier mâché making takes much time; no wonder that of recent years many of the articles which find their way into the cheaper markets to compete with the factory-made ones are of wood, which although they may deceive the eye, by their weight confess to their false foundation.

Having decided upon the shape of the piece to be produced, the potter makes up on his wheel, or the carpenter on his lathe, a vase, box shape or whatever it might be, but smaller than the finished article is required. Overnight the papier mâché maker soaks old paper shavings in a tank of water. Next morning these are lifted out and pounded with poles in a mortar until they once again become the pulp that they were before being printed; this is usually grey in colour, having absorbed the newsprint. When of the correct consistency, rice paste - or if there is a shortage of rice, glue - is added to it. The brick-hard potter's shape is now covered with strips of paper to ensure that the paste does not adhere to it and over the mould is evenly applied the paper paste; more strips of

paper, sometimes thin muslin, are made to cover the shape and more of the pulp, until some times three layers reinforce it, the shape being dried for a few days in the sun before the next layer is added. When the maker is satisfied with the size and that the pot has dried hard, it is sawn in two or more pieces according to the shape, the mould removed and the papier mâché pieces are then carefully glued together again, with heavy weights - usually sacks of sand - holding the parts together. The complete piece is next covered with fine muslin strips and on this is painted *gutch*, a paste made from old wall plaster mixed with water and glue. When again dry the surface is rubbed smooth with a piece of hard burnt brick.

In the old days, and even now with a few men who are proud of their work, over this was applied a stain called *astar*, which was made by rubbing with water, stone of a kind only to be found in the quarry at Manasbal. On top of this stain *safeda Kashgari*, which is a white powder mixed with glue and water, is smoothed and over the whole, when dry, the ground colour of the artist's design is painted, this varying, being either gold, white lead, verdigris, ultramarine, or cochineal.

All this I watched being done in a little workshop of Imtiaz just behind the Bund, in that part where so many shops of the same sort are congregated together. There an artist painter was sitting drawing with *zarda*, yellow colour, on the base colour the outlines of the design and staining the spaces on which the flowers were to be painted with *astar* and white paint. Like so many of the arts of Kashmir, it had come down from father to son. It was fascinating to watch the freehand work of the master artist - known as the *nakash* - on the formal designs, drawing without geometrical instruments, the sketch being perfectly balanced, no easy task on a round box which has seven panels to be painted.

Then he handed the box, which was to have golden chinar leaves in its decoration, on to a younger man who painted in the leaves with a base coat of *zarda* mixed with glue and sugar, when this was finished he applied the gold leaf which adhered to that part only. Another lad took the box from him and completed the design, selecting colours for birds and flowers as he thought best and shading them as only an experienced artist can; there was no painter's palette, the colours being held in bits of broken crocks; one brush was used and washed after it had finished with each colour all over the box, when the lad turned to another and started

round it again.

When dry the box was handed over to the youngest of the family, the old man's grandson who could only have been about eight years of age. It was this boy who had done most of the pounding up of the paper; now his job was to varnish the box. For this they used amber or copal powdered down and dissolved in linseed oil, after which it was stood out in the sun to dry before a second coat was applied. This was the final stage for the cheaper class of work, but for the more expensive pieces there was still more to do; the surface rubbed over with wet grass and washed clean, the gold and silver leaves dissolved in brine water and glue, in order that details of shading and veins could be painted, the complete surface polished with a piece of jade stone, and lastly a final coating of amber varnish dried off in the sun.

In these days, in addition to wood being used as a base, the cheaper articles are painted with imported bright chemical colours, but still a few of the more expensive ones carry the colours made from finely powdered semi-precious stones which take hours to grind down, but remain for a hundred years as they were when first applied, subdued shades of rich reds, blues and browns, being freshened up by being washed and given the very occasional protecting coat of amber varnish, though the colours are never as bright - to the art lover, gaudy - as the chemical colours beloved by most of those who purchase from Kashmir.

Talking to the old man I heard of an art in which he was trained as a boy but which had now been lost to Kashmir, though there still remain a few like him who could revive it if it were worth while. Until forty or fifty years ago Kashmir was well known for its enamel work on brass and copper. In this the powdered stone was used to decorate the engraved metal work like lovely vases, bells and lamps made for the mosques and monasteries. A few pieces, with lovely sapphire blues and ruby reds still bright, occasionally come into the market to be snatched up by the collectors of such choice pieces, but they are rare and I wondered why, if only on this score, one of the workers has not revived it.

The secrets of paper-making were also brought to Kashmir from Samarqand during the reign of Zain-ul-Ab-ul-Din, the industry first starting up in the State near to Ganderbal where

water power was available to batter and pulp up the rags, whilst at Nowshera, vats were made in which the pulp was turned into paper.

The art of paper-making had reached Samarqand from China some eight hundred years before that time, the methods were improved upon during that period, but the same Persian methods are being used in Kashmir as had been introduced into the country five hundred years before.

Prior to the introduction of paper-making the Kashmiri had used birch-bark for his manuscripts, and many of these are to be found in the museums of the world, though few remain to be seen in the State itself.

In the making of Kashmir paper a mixture of old rags of cotton and linen are pounded together with a small quantity of hemp under a water-powered lever mill. A little crude carbonate of soda together with some slaked lime is added during this beating process; this is to soften and whiten the rags, though since cold water is always used for the process a large amount of the colour remains; to remove this would only necessitate boiling the pulp for a while, but the paper-maker insists that this form of caustic soda would weaken the finished product.

The mortar in which the rags are pounded is made of limestone. The pestle, which is worked by a lever on a pivoted beam, has an iron head which is four sided and in falling on the rags also chops them up as they are fed under it by hand. This pulp passes through three pounding presses, each one tearing it to smaller threads; between each of these the pulp is taken out and placed in a kind of trough made by tying a length of cloth round the waists of two men and leaving a space of about six feet between them. The men then stand in a deep stream with the pulp in the cloth between them in the water, carefully ensuring the edges of the trough are above the surface. They agitate the pulp with their hands, the dirt it contains passes through the mesh of the cloth and is carried away.

Between each of the washings the pulp is drained and made up into foot square slabs about an inch thick and then laid out in the sun to bleach. The sun can only penetrate through about an eighth of an inch of this surface, but after being turned and exposed four times the resultant paper is reasonably whitish with a creamy tinge.

These washed and bleached slabs are then placed in large earthenware crocks; water is added and by treading them the pulp

is made free to float. This is transferred to the vat with a large amount of the water.

The mould in which the paper is made consists of a large wooden frame in which is stretched a square of cloth, in some cases reeds take the place of the cloth. The frame is dipped flat in the vat, sufficient liquid is allowed to flow over the top to make one sheet of paper and it is then lifted out. The thickness required is controlled not by the amount permitted to enter the frame, but by the number of dips, two being generally sufficient, though in the better papers the frame is dipped three times, and it had been found that the increased number of dips adds to the strength of the paper. As the frame is lifted perfectly flat from the vat so the vacuum beneath sucks the water out and leaves the pulp only. The lumps which appear are now quickly removed or pressed in.

The sheets are taken from the mould and stacked one on the other until a block of seventy-two sheets is formed. On this is placed a board which is weighed down with stones. Next morning the sheets are detached from each other and spread out on the smooth mud wall to dry in the sun. Often five or six sheets are placed one on top of the other, being easily detached later on.

The paper is next polished with pumice stone after which its surface is glazed with rice starch which is rubbed on both sides with a woollen mitt on the paper-maker's hand. Finally the writing paper is polished off with an agate or onyx stone, and is ready to take the pen.

George Forster, who wrote of his travels in Kashmir in 1783, says that he found there "fabricated the best writing paper of the East" and speaks of it as being "an article of extensive traffic".

In these days little Kashmir hand-made paper is to be seen, for it cannot compete with the mill-made paper, but I have yet to find any more effective for such things as Greeting Cards, while the heavier types make most effective lamp shades, being durable and toughened by the hemp fibre.

Woodwork and woodcarving have long been one of the industries of Kashmir. As to when it was commenced I have been unable to discover, other than that in ancient Hindu books there are directions for ensuring that the timber is felled in the winter month when the sap is down and just before it rises, and also as to how it should be seasoned for some years before it is cut up, and

then allowed to season again in planks.

Earlier on has been described Khatamband - the geometric designs of pine-wood slips which fit into each other to decorate a ceiling and there are few of the houses of the well-to-do in Srinagar, or for that matter Kashmir, that do not boast of these: in some houses, such as the Residency, walnut was used for this purpose so that it might blend with the wall panels.

Next there is Pinjra or lattice work, in which Budlu or Kain wood is used with geometric or bold floral designs made up of small laths and pieces fitting one into the other and held by their own pressure, glue being despised, consequently the wood used for this art must be well seasoned. This particular type of wood-work is now dying out though.

Finally we come to woodcarving and the making of furniture. All will admit that the Kashmiri is surpassed by few in his designs and workmanship though it is still necessary to seek out the trader who has the financial backing to enable him to hold stocks of walnut long enough to ensure their being really well seasoned. Walnut trees abound in the valley. Those who have lived there a lifetime admit that they cannot see any reduction in their number in spite of their fears at so many being used over the past years. The walnut's natural veined surfaces with lovely soft mellow colours, combined with the hardness of a wood which is ideal for both the knife of the carver and cloth of the polisher, makes it most suitable for these artists to work upon, while because of its easy and generous availability it is reasonably cheap, with the result that there are few articles of furniture to be found in any middle class household in the valley which are not manufactured from it. The woodworkers are able with ease and accuracy to copy a most elaborate design of desk, chair, bed or such-like piece from the photograph or sketch in a catalogue, each one coming apart, legs from base, so that they may be easily packed for transporting.

In his woodcarving the Kashmiri excels. The piece of wood is carefully selected to ensure that there is no blemish on its surface or in the hardness of the timber itself. If there happens to be a very soft part in an otherwise superb piece of wood, he will be careful to avoid this in the design. In the first place the artist-draughtsman chalks out with a black pencil the main design; again no instruments are used for this - it is all freehand work. The master woodcarver then hands it to an assistant who chisels out the

bold shape, for instance in a flower and leaf design he would carve the petals and leaves, the master afterwards taking over the rough-cut piece to carve out the small scrolls which form the base and the finer details, carefully covering any mistakes that have been made by his assistant.

With the finer pieces the one carver will execute the whole of the work, with wonderful skill and many shapes of knives hollowing out some parts, in others undercutting such shapes as flowers, leaves, and entwining creepers thread thin, or carving the much favoured dragon design, so that it is difficult to believe that this has not been separately cut and cunningly glued to the base, until on closely inspecting it one finds that it is not so.

Of late there has been an inclination to "stunt" pieces. It is said that this was originally in response to the demand of foreign soldiers during the last war, but now delights the Indian visitors, so that we find cigarette boxes which open on a spring, at which the cigarette flies out, or a bird lifts it from the case; lamps made like lotus plants, the flowers of which open to expose the electric bulb and so on, but the pieces are not manufactured from well-seasoned wood, they are made for a cheap and ready market, and one wonders if they fall apart when the buyer returns to his own country.

No one can deny that with their fine embroidery work, their delightful blending of colours in their painting of papier mâché and their delicate woodcarving, the Kashmiri is an artist able to convey on to cloth, paper and wood the beauties with which he is surrounded by nature and of which lovely things he is truly conscious and appreciative: proof that familiarity has not dulled his vision to that which he lives amongst at all times. It is as if his one great desire is to let the whole world know of the joys that are his and to share with the rest of mankind all this colour and beauty.

To King Zain-ul-Ab-ul-Din is also given the credit for having introduced sericulture into the valley although there are some who doubt this and it is difficult to trace the time when it did actually arrive, so that it must be sufficient that it is an ancient industry of Kashmir. There is a reference in the history written about the year 1548 by the then ruler Mirza Haidar to the great numbers of mulberry trees which were grown not so much for their fruits as for the leaves on which silkworms were fed, and scanty references to

silkworms appear in Abul Fazl's *Institutes of Akbar* and in *The Memoirs of Jahangir*. Under the Moghuls Kashmir's silk industry progressed, ladies of the Court delighting in wearing the materials while the men flung silken shawls and cloaks over their official uniforms even on the most important ceremonial occasions. During the rule of the Pathans the industry died and the Sikhs made no effort to revive it although it would have contributed vast sums to the treasury, and it was not until the Dogra rulers came to the throne that they gave any encouragement to its reintroduction.

Then it must have reached great heights, for in 1855 there was a terrible outbreak of silkworm disease in Europe, and in 1860 the Italians purchased from Kashmir no less than twenty-five thousand ounces of the seed, as the eggs are called. The industry was at that time under the control of the Maharaja's Chief Physician, Hakim Azim. Then something happened to the Kashmir seed, and there was a rapid decrease in production, until a Kashmiri who went to Kabul gathered together a few pounds of seed which he managed to smuggle into Kashmir by hiding them in walnut shells. In 1870, the Maharaja placed the industry under the charge of his Chief Justice, and four years later the State monopoly started.

It is amazing that thousands of ounces of seed are produced annually in the reproduction houses of the Kashmir Government silk factory. From time to time seed has been imported, Europe, France, and Italy being the main suppliers, but the Kashmiri insists that the local seed is by far the better. They are always nervous of importing disease with the seeds, and to this day insist that the decline and final near-death from disease of the industry in 1878 was brought about by seeds which were imported from Japan. At that time there was a guild of silk-rearers which was known as "Kirm Kash", which translated means "worm-killers". Members of the guild enjoyed certain considerable privileges, most important of which was their exemption from forced labour under the State; they were permitted to requisition, with payment, any houses of the villagers that they required for the purpose of silk-breeding, and were appointed as informers of any damage done to mulberry trees. As usual they abused their position: as informers they were feared, as privileged persons they were hated for the advantages they had over their fellow countrymen, and they became as foreign to those among whom they were born and lived as were the military who had such power over the people.

In 1889, on the advice of Sir Edward Beck, it was decided to adopt the Pasteur system of microscopical examination. Good seed was obtained from France and Italy, and the resultant cocoons were excellent. The following year Sir Thomas Wardle a silk dyer and manufacturer who was the then President of the Silk Association of Great Britain, advised the Kashmir State through the Resident to revive the industry on a commercial basis, which advice they took.

In 1913, with the industry flourishing, there came the great fire which practically destroyed the factory; thousands were thrown out of work and operations ceased. It was again rebuilt, new machinery of the most modern type was installed, being imported from Italy, with the result that it was decided by the British factories that the Kashmir silk had become superior to the Italian. From then on, until during the Great Wars when the demand for natural silk for making into parachutes was far in excess of the supply, it flourished, only to fade, although still existent, after the Kashmir troubles of 1947. Now fresh efforts are being made to revive it to its former glory of the past century.

There must be few who knew that in Srinagar there was, and probably will again be within a few years, the largest natural silk factory in the world. This is State run, the silk being the product of the millions of cocoons which are brought in by the rearers of silkworms from the villages of the valley, the eggs having been distributed to them by the State. Just as every village has its walnut trees, so almost all of them have their orchards of mulberry trees; these are cared for by the State which ensures that they are properly pruned and kept free from disease. At one time the factory employed about five thousand hands and a further one hundred and fifty thousand men, women and children profited by rearing the worms in the villages. Now the labourers are being encouraged to set up their own looms and mills in the villages.

To those who have no knowledge of silkworm culture - sericulture is the correct word - it is interesting to follow it through the separate stages in the factory; at first the selection of those cocoons which are the largest and have the finest silks; the hatching out of the moths, their separate matings in the trays, after which the male, having served his purpose in life, dies; the placing of each female in her own little muslin bag, in which she remains until she lays her eggs and serves her purpose. The dead moth is carefully examined under the microscope to ensure that she is not suffering

from any of the diseases; the muslin bags are washed in a solution of copper sulphate and the seeds are removed to be packed in small boxes, each of which holds about one and a half ounces. These are set aside in the hybernating houses there to rest until they are ready for collection by the rearers the following season.

When they are about to hatch the peasant rearers collect them from the factory; from the eggs the grubs emerge to grow much like the common cabbage butterfly caterpillar, which gorge themselves on the mulberry leaves brought to them in their trays, the villages keeping these in their houses. Finally, from thirty to thirty-five days from the time that they were hatched, the grubs spin their cocoons. These are carried by the rearers to the factory where they receive payment for them by weight.

The cocoons, which are naturally either white, gold or yellow, are then dropped into electrically heated basins of boiling water which immediately kills the grub within. The operator finds one end of the silken thread which he attaches to one of the dozens of whirling reels which are in line above the bowls, and the whole length of silk is unwound from the cocoon, there being from four to eight hundred yards on each.

In the old days the silk waste, that is the short ends of cocoons or those of a quality not sufficiently good to be used for weaving, were thrown away or sold for practically nothing. Now even this has found its use, and after cleaning and reeling - known as "Matka silk" - it is either woven into second grade of cloth or used for making some of the really lovely silken carpets and rugs now coming out of the State.

The quality of Kashmir silk is considered good by the manufacturers of the Western world. The climate of the valley is most suited to the growth of the worm and the spinning of the yarn, much of which is exported in the skein, but some is woven on the old wooden looms. I have seen the factory in full production, and unhappily I have also since seen it, together with some of the other private ones, and come upon empty rooms with machines silent, dusty, and some being cannibalised that the one or two which occasionally move may be kept going. That with the will, it can revive there is little doubt, in spite of the threatening competition of artificial silks now made from wood, coal and even glass. The food for the worms is there in the valley, as is labour at a price which compares favourably with other countries and the

people are there who have a knowledge of its growth and manufacture, a knowledge which is hereditary. It is also fortunate that the diseases of silk-worms known in the valley are fortunately controllable.

I suppose that next among the productions of the Kashmir craftsmen that attracts visitors, is the unique silverware. Most of this is of most exquisite design, the most favoured being the "shawl pattern", the engraving covering the entire silver piece on which the silversmith, sitting on the floor, works with chisel, hammer and file. The later designs contain the chinar leaf, but so clever are these craftsmen that they can most faithfully copy any piece given them as a pattern. Most of these workshops are in the dingy little shops on the banks of the Jhelum, more especially crowded round the third and fourth bridges. The finished article is sold by weight and it seems strange to the European when asking the price to see the silversmith place a teapot on one side of the scales and weights on the other after quoting his customer so many rupees and annas per tola - equal to about two ounces. The silver used is either imported from India in ingots or melted down silver rupees.

This silverware has a peculiar white sheen attributable to its being boiled in apricot juice. Unfortunately when the modern liquid silver polishes are used on it there is a tendency to tarnish especially when afterwards handled. The outer surface is highly polished by the silversmith; that part which is engraved, although bright, is not polished and appears to be whiter.

Most of the tea and coffee sets, finger bowls, fruit dishes, biscuit barrels, tea caddies, mugs and trays are made to supply the needs of visitors, although they will also be seen in some of the better-class Kashmiri houses.

Other silversmiths specialise in making ornaments for the people who live there. It is said that the Empress Nur Jahan introduced into the Valley many delicate varieties of jewellery. The Kashmiri excels in the making of earrings, necklaces, bracelets, anklets, amulets, rings, rosaries, charm cases and headbands, and in all of them is to be seen the Moghul influence, yet there remains that small detail which distinguishes them from the pieces which come from the shops of India or Pakistan.

On any day you will see the little girls, many of them in arms, wearing the unique silver pieces which cover the head and are made up of a number of cut-out silver medallions held together like

chain armour, with a fringe of tiny darts falling over the forehead, the more delicate of these being shaped like fishes, birds and flowers. The Muslim peasant women always wear dozens of silver earrings hanging and dragging open the pierced holes in the lobes; then to take the weight, a wire is passed over the crown of the head. The Hindu women wear beautiful jhumkas - bell-shaped earrings with little drops and a silver or gold fringe. Wide, hinge-closing, solid, fitting bracelets of silver, embossed with chinar leaves, cherry and almond blossoms are a favourite, some have semi-precious stones such as jade, green and pink, agate, turquoise, goldstone, cornelians or bloodstones, embedded in the surface. As a necklace these women wear massive silver charm boxes, or triangular silver pendants suspended on a black cord which matches the hundreds of plaits of raven hair hanging round their heads after the fashion in that part. This silver is often the entire family fortune.

The shopkeepers discovered that visitors were attracted to these rather barbaric ornaments, and since for some reason they always seek out "very old pieces", they supply that need by burying them in the earth for a time sufficient to acquire that antique look, rubbing them very carefully afterwards to ensure the dirt remains in the crevices. The customer well knows that she is being cheated so that she in turn will be able to deceive her friends who will later admire the antique piece.

Quite a number of synthetic emeralds, sapphires and rubies are brought into the country for setting into this jewellery, yet emeralds, sapphires and amethyst are to be found within the State.

The most perfect of these real stones are to be seen in some of the dainty and delicately designed gold ornaments which are worn on special occasions by the wealthier Muslim and Hindu ladies, jewellery which has probably been passed down to them through several generations. Yet every goldsmith knows just where each of his masterpieces is, and is able, by examining a piece of jewellery, to tell if it was made by one of his forefathers, such is the individual work which is put into every bit that comes out of those dismal little workshops.

To these craftsmen of Kashmir such things as mass production and machine-made goods are unknown, and in this lies so much of the charm of that which one buys. Each piece is a model, and has

become as though possessed of a soul whilst being fashioned by human hands. All are carved, made or painted by men who really love and are proud of their work, men who are masters of their craft, one which has come down to them from the distant past, men who handle the finished article as though reluctant to part with it. Unlike the factory hands who - other than for the pay packet - have little interest in that which they make, these men are artists, they do not clock in and clock out; often they will work far into the night, forgetful of the hour as they concentrate upon that piece which they are producing.

What one can never understand is how such beauty of shape and perfect blending of colours can be created and made complete in those dirty, squalid, poverty-stricken surroundings; maybe those who so labour have but near and far sight, that they can only see that material, wood, metal or papier mâché on which they work, and in the distance the glorious shades of Kashmir's lakes, hills and mountains, together with the beauties of her trees, flowers and birds.

Pearce Gervis: *This is Kashmir*

CHAPTER XX

THE CULTURAL ARTS

So far it has been described how the people work, and how they pray, but only in the northern States, how they play. The fact is that the Kashmiri of the Valley is not one who plays very much. Go into any of their villages during the day and you will find it practically empty; the men are in the fields, and at certain times of the year their womenfold and children are there also; only the very old people remain at home. Go there in the evening and you will find the women working and the men sitting round and talking; the children may be playing, their games usually being tip-cat, a game which is played with sticks and a piece of wood which is shaped like an elongated egg, one end of which the boy taps when it is resting on the ground so that it jumps up into the air to be hit as far as possible in a certain direction. Some play an odd game of marbles with round pebbles, and the girls may play a kind of hop-scotch on squares scratched on the ground; that is when they are not mothering the baby brother or sister, one of which seems always to be around. But the women do not play; few of them have time for it, being fully occupied with child bearing and so much work to do. The men? they are either tired or else lazy after the day's work and they sit around and talk and smoke. In the winter they work hard at their looms, busy at their labours deep into the night, for winter does not mean that they may hibernate with the coming of the snows.

At festival and fair times they play, or rather watch others play, just as they do at weddings, with the guests sitting round and gorging themselves until they can barely move, then listening happily to the bards. And Kashmiri Muslims have most enormous appetites, eating about three times that which any Indian or Pakistani will consume; it is fantastic the amount that can be eaten at one of their feasts. The pundit eats far less; the Muslim says that this is because he is so mean, that he does not know how to enjoy life.

Of the players who entertain with music, a lot could have been

said in the past; now they come round in little bands at harvest time, just before the winter sets in, to cheer the people up and, if the crop has been good, to collect a few annas. Most of the bands come from the tidy little mud-hutted village of Vathore which is some twelve miles to the south-east of Srinagar and set amongst mulberry groves and rice fields which are fed their water by a babbling, winding mountain stream.

Into this little village with less than two hundred inhabitants who are known as *bhands*, has shrunk the glorious centuries-old traditions of the dance, drama and music of Kashmir. Now they are poor strolling musicians, almost equal to beggars, who pass from one village to another in small bands usually consisting of two drummers, two shahnai players, a jester or clown and two boys with hair grown long and dressed as girls, they being the dancers and singers.

The ancestors of these people had set at the feet of Kings, had entertained Emperors and Empresses, had received at their hands cloaks of honour and costly presents, whilst their ears rang with the applause of the members of the Court or those it had pleased the ruler to invite to his fabulous parties; their costumes were costly and beautiful while many were given an allowance by the King. Now the gowns worn by the boys and those of the others are usually the rags of what were once beautiful, although there are still a very few bands which manage to adorn themselves in raiment which has just a reminder, an echo, of the past; this is kept for the parties of the wealthier folk, the fastidious ones, or those who feel that they can do themselves little more harm by getting further into debt over their daughter's wedding. A few of the better-known *bhands* are to be heard nightly over the radio from the capital; the mellow tones of their many instruments, which are peculiar to Kashmir, blending with the chorus of the players' voices, for mostly they sing together, seldom is there a solo.

With the strolling bards it is the high-pitched voices of boys that are heard as they dance, usually twirling round and round, and "act", or standing make exaggerated feminine movements with their arms, the whole time tossing back their waist-long hair and smiling. When the audience looks as though it will appreciate the vulgar lyrics which have now replaced some of those long known, they start to sing and sometimes act them. At other times the artistes are paid to improvise some gibe set at a villager whose own people,

maybe those he employs, fear themselves to tell him the truth.

Some of these boys continue to play to the full the female role all through their lives. One impersonator will a falsetto voice, I quite imagined to be a rather attractive girl as backed by an orchestra of one drum, a shahnai and a rabab, she started a kind of shimmy-shuffle dance on the river bank by the side of our houseboat. After a while, with the arrival of quite a large audience of boatmen who stood behind the musicians watching my reactions as much as the dancer, the girl's movements speeded up the tempo, and she started twirling round and round, high kicking in a kind of Can-Can as she faced her orchestra; but why not when in my direction? The boatmen were by then shrieking with laughter, the reason for which I just could not understand, for neither the girl nor the musicians were singing. Then the old manji, who had come to stand just behind me quietly observed, "You see, sahib, not even these eunuch men can dance like a girl!"

Writing of them sixty years ago Lawrence even then said, "The minstrels of Kashmir can be recognised by their long black hair and stroller mien, and although they are practically a peculiar people so far as marriage goes, they sometimes recruit their companies by enlisting a villager".

At other times I have sat in my boat and listened to the music of the orchestra which had for nearly an hour before been broadcasting from the little studio over the other side of The Bund. With their music modulated to the houseboat's lounge, they sat cross-legged on the carpet, four of them, each a master of the instrument he had chosen to play, one with two tabla - drums which rest face up on the ground, the tone of the skin being controlled by straps which run from face to base and are tightened by wood blocks; another with the sitar - the long-necked mandoline-like instrument with many strings, but on only one of which the player flicks; then the saz - a cross between a banjo and a violin, looking rather like an old-fashioned hall barometer and played with a bow; finally, that instrument which is Kashmir's most delightful piece, the santoor, a word which means one hundred strings, although in fact it has ninety-six, which are in batches of eight, each one of which are the same tone. These strings, which have a range of but an octave and a half, are stretched over a hollow base of mulberry wood and played rather like a xylophone with two little sticks which have curved ends, the quality of tone being rather like the

harpsichord, but with more body, since eight strings vibrate each note.

They had brought with them other instruments, the rabab, another bow-played string which I had seen played by the strolling bards; this they said was of Persian origin, the strings are of gut; then there was what looked like an ordinary earthenware water pitcher - the ghata.

The music they produced was delightful and fascinating. There is a distinct difference between the classical and the folk music, and it was surprising how very often the human voice is made to become a part of the orchestra. But those masters of the art, in comparison with even the meanest of members of a tea-shop orchestra in Europe or America, were very poorly paid. Yet they were proud, and great was their knowledge of the history of their art in Kashmir; it was a heritage which they were delighted to be asked to tell me, and although I have never been greatly interested in music, they told their stories so well that they were full of fascination.

At first I was taken back almost to the period when legend was history, to two hundred years before Christ, when, they assured me, books tell of the great patron of music the Maharaja Jalok, who had at his court hundreds of musicians. Then to the time of Lalitaditya, at whose court was Indra Prabha, the most celebrated dancer of her time. About a thousand years ago, with their coming, the Muslims had brought with them their own style which blended with the music then known in the land. Great masters were born, their names have passed down through the years, men like Amir Khusrav and Mirza Tan Sain, who invented not only styles, rags and tals, but also first made and introduced some of the instruments so popular in Kashmir to this day.

Blockman, writing in 1875, said that, according to Abu'l Fazl, schools of music were founded in Kashmir by Irani and Turani, musicians who were under the patronage of the Sultan Zain-ul-Ab-ul-Din, the patron of so many of the arts introduced into the country at that time, and that they brought in at least twenty-three songs or pieces each of which he names. It is accepted that Zain-ul-Ab-ul-Din, was a great music lover, that he was always most generous with regard to allowances paid to his musicians, with the result that many *sazindas*, players, and *guindas*, chanters, "flocked to Kashmir from Arabia, Iran, Tashkhand, Samarkhand, Kabul, and

Delhi". In those days the *ud* and the lute were the most favoured of the instruments used in the court. Of the "poet musicians there was Mulla Jamil, proud, handsome, a great expert and also composer of vocal music, being possessed of a beautiful voice, as high as the mountains, as deep as the lake, as clear as the spring stream, and as soft and smooth as the waters of the Dal". The Sultan was himself said to be "a great classical singer", in all probability he was, but in those days so many writers flattered their patron king that there is the possibility that this was an exaggeration; in any event he had sufficient interest to encourage those whose art it was, holding each year a great festival of music to which came instrumentalists and singers from all countries near and far.

These fine present-day Kashmiri musicians as they sat on the carpet in my houseboat advised me to search out books in the Club Library which were written by Dutt way back between 1879 and 1898 and were English translations of the *Rajatarangini*, his books being published under the title of, *The Kings of Kashmir*. I did not find them there, I could not find a copy in all India, but I did discover one in Oxford, and in them found the original author wrote that "a young woman, prolific in music, possessed of a sweet voice, genuine ardour for song, graced the palace. The songstress Utsava was even like Cupid's arrow, charming the eye and prolific in dance, both swift and slow, she entranced everyone"; writing that "the actresses who displayed the forty-nine different emotions seemed even like the ascending and descending notes of music personified. Their song was like the cuckoo." Why not liken it to the lark? you may ask; from those old songs I have heard I would also describe it as such, the notes being separated one from the other for there is no smooth movement between them.

Sultan Haidar Shah, who followed Zain-ul-Ab-ul-Din, was equally musical, he is reputed to have "had twelve hundred musicians from Hindustan in his court" and was "himself so skilled in the art of playing the lute that he gave lessons even to the professors".

The parties which he gave must have been most exciting, with the music working the court and visitors up to a terrific state of ecstasy, for we read that "the spectators seemed to view Indra - the Lord of the gods - himself in the King. The poets and pundits beside the King were like demi-gods. His servants like the

attendant gods. And the yogis around him were like holy men who had obtained salvation. The actresses were like apsaras - fairies - whose charms were heightened by their emotions. The singers were the Gandharvas - Indra's musicians - and the stage was just heaven itself", and as for the setting of this dance and musical evening; "The stage was like a garden where the lamps on it looked like rows of Champaka flowers, and around them were men intoxicated with wine, like bees around flowers. Rows of lamps surrounded the King, as if gods, pleased with his government had come to witness the dance, and had thrown a garland of golden lotuses round him. In some places the rows were reflected on the water, as if Varuna - Regent of the Ocean - had out of favour towards the King illuminated the court with lights from the Naga world. The lines of lamps shone like jewels on the heads of the Nagas who had come to witness the dance. Those who were at a distance doubted if the lights were really lamps, or the spirits of former kings assembled to view the present sovereign, or stars and the moon descended from the sky to attend on the King, or the spirits of holy men who had attained emancipation, or if they were the great gods assembled there in their grace and beauty."

There is little doubt that the audience were completely entranced, though mention of wine causes one to wonder if the author of this was not himself carried away into this other world of imagination. In those days the king showered gold on those dancers and musicians who pleased him.

The musicians of the Valley claim that Carangadeva, the author of the *Sangita-ratnakara*, was a Kashmiri, since his grandfather had been born there, moving to the Deccan to become secretary to the Yadava king. This work, written in Sanskrit, is claimed as the only authoritative work on music in the early thirteenth century which explains in its seven sections, not only the theory and technical details of Indian music, but describes the instruments, together with the composition of music for voice and instruments, and music which should accompany the dancer.

With the coming of Akbar and the Moghul Emperors the music of Kashmir continued to be looked upon with royal favour, but the Emperors were seldom there to foster it as they doubtless would have done, for it is said of Akbar that he had an immense love for music. The great musicians left Kashmir and went down to the Punjab and to the Court in Delhi where they could be appreciated

and still receive encouragement. There the genius Miyan Tan Sain, called by some writers "The Orpheus of India", had embraced Islam and had been given the title of Mirza to add to his new name of Atta Husain. This great exponent was bringing Indian music to the fore once again, not only developing it, but enlarging it to a greater state than had ever been known. So great was he that he could gladly suffer a gentle reproof, for it is said that whilst at the court of Akbar, Yusaf Shah of Kashmir, to the horror of many present, on some minor point corrected the great singer, who immediately bowed his acknowledgement. To him it was proof that some at least of the great ones invited by the Emperor to listen to him, were paying attention, and were able to appreciate the delicate beauty of the art he was endeavouring to rebuild.

But those fine artists of the craft who had chosen to remain in the Valley, as they realized that man must work to eat, gradually took to wandering from one village to another with music and songs, and it is from these people that the *bhands* of Vathore claim to be descended. From these have again risen the finer musicians who have been singled out to broadcast and record the dozens of songs which are still remembered throughout the lovely land. These men are but a shadow of those who were so glorious in Kashmir's past musical history, but they are the living proof that music is as inbred in those peoples, as are the other arts to which they so tenaciously cling, though in so doing they may remain poor of worldly goods.

The Kashmiri classical music is known as *Soofiana Kalam*. The word *Soofiana*, if coming from *Soofism* or *Sophism*, means mystical; *Kalam* means poetry, so that the translation of the complete name is *Mystical Poetry*. In it one finds traces of the Persian, for the words or lyrics are usually in that language, occasionally they may be in Kashmiri, whilst most definitely the style of music is towards the Persian, and the result of a combined orchestra is which are both Indian and Persian types of instruments, is that the latter overshadows the Indian.

Also, most of all the Kashmiri musicians are Muslims; the pundits were theorists and did not sing, but chanted the mantras and the shlokas in a dull monotone.

The wandering bands of musicians and entertainers have gradually reduced in numbers. There was a time, in the days of the Sultan Shah Mir, who ruled in 1335, in which two of his scholar-

ministers wrote in Sanskrit the books *Samaimatrika* and *Kutnimahatam*, dealing with Kashmiri music and drama, when every village had its stage, and the men and also the women delighted in taking part in the dances, drama and singing.

Even just over fifty years ago Lawrence was writing at some length about these wandering entertainers for whom he had a soft spot. He declared that the very best of the companies - the Bhaggats of Syebug - died off in the great famine of 1877. In their acting, he said, "they portray village life in a most vivid manner. Their dresses and make-up are excellent, and they represent most faithfully the internal working of a village community. It is said that Maharaja Gulab Singh acquired a very intimate knowledge of village administration from the Bhaggats' performances, and I have picked up some hints from them as to the methods of the village accountant." Lawrence's great achievement for Kashmir was Land Reform, so that his last observation is interesting.

In those days the plot was always much the same, with the great Raja riding into the village, his only thought to redress the wrongs of his people had suffered, his Vizir seizing both the village accountant and the lambardar, and calling for their books. Then came the villager who, believing he was to receive justice, rushed before the Raja with his grievance. After exhausting himself, he watched the Vizir and accountant or lambardar - whichever one he had complained against - in whispered conversation with the kindly Raja and the next scene was the poor wretched complainant being seized and severely flogged for having brought a trumped-up charge. But the charge he made on the stage, was that which the people were dying to make against their own officials but dare not; that was where the subtleness of the attack lay, that is why few accountants or lambardars attended these performances, and really feared the players when an official of importance was visiting the village at the same time as the Bhaggats. There is little doubt that threats even bribes were offered, but the players were of the people and with the people, and all those to whom I talked about them, agree that they were fearless and merciless in their portrayals of the wrongs and persecutions that were being committed against the peasants. Since even the official, if he were inclined to turn a blind eye to what was being forced before him never knew if the Maharaja would see their play into which he, the official, might have by then been introduced, he had to take notice of it.

The orchestra travelling with the band in those days consisted "of four fiddles with a drum in the centre, or of clarionets and drums, but the compnay often contained twenty persons or more. The wardrobe was frequently of great value, and several companies which I have met are said to have dresses and properties worth more than Rs. 2000. Their acting is excellent and their songs are often very pretty."

How different is the story now; a pathetic little band of near beggars with a wardrobe ready for the rag-bag, probably the patched up remnants of what Lawrence once saw; but they still remain happy folk, full of natural mirth; they still sing, they still dance, and they still act, although they have deteriorated in quality of performance with the fading and ageing of their dresses. Even though, it seems that there are some among them with possibilities as actors: this I was assured of by an Indian film producer who came to my houseboat to witness - on the roof since the artistes were rather unpleasantly odoriferous - a play they performed for us. I found it difficult to believe, but must not judge - it would not be right for me to do so, although I tremble to imagine their reception on a Western stage.

The better class of orchestra and its members, either working together or as individual artistes, would I believe be accepted there, providing they changed the types of songs from one to another, and when necessary put into their playing the *vive* that I have seen them muster up after the first two or three items at a party.

The most popular and best-known tune in all Kashmir is the *Chakri*. In the villages this is accompanied by folk instruments like the home-made *ghata* and the *tumbaknana* and a miniature *sarangi*. It is always sung in chorus, not unusually with a little dancing, for it tells of happy times, of the wondrous beauties of Kashmir, of love and of the spring. It is the song of the poorer peoples, even though it sings of their joys and their hopes for the future.

The *Soofiana Kalam* is for the men and women of wealth, it is not known in the villages, other than the few which have radio sets through which it has been introduced to them, and is not appreciated by the peasants who think of it as the average European or American does of "Chamber music".

Being one of the great seats of learning in the East, men came from other countries to seek knowledge there, and in doing so

frequently brought knowledge with them. They found Kashmir well to the fore in fostering the cultural arts of that early age. The pity of it is that much of the literature was destroyed as each dynasty came to power and did its best to obliterate that which its predecessor had created. At the time none of them realized that so much would ultimately be to the good and glorification of them all, whether Hindu or Muslim in that land. Still some remains though, and within that which does, there are records which are acknowledged and accepted as having been taken from the past writings. Of the poets, their original written words may have been burned, but the beauty of their poems is imprinted for all time on the lips of the men and women of Kashmir; they will never die, neither they nor the lyrics which so perfectly fit the tunes still sung not only in the Valley, but in the hills and away over the mountains in those parts which are separated by their height, but to which they have access through the steep and narrow passes and along the rushing, winding rivers.

Those who have undertaken the research of the literary past of the country have been unable to gather together a completely connected story of the Buddhist and the Hindu periods of which much was a sort of overflow or a part of the literary history and records of the then India, but unfortunately there is the one great work, *Rajatarangini* - "The River of Kings" - which contains the most valuable historical records of that period. Its author was Kalhana, and he started compiling this history of Kashmir in A.D. 1148. He was born into a Brahmin family, and his father was the minister of King Harsha who ruled between A.D. 1089 and 1101. The book consists considerably of the collected chronicles of past writers from among which he had absorbed most valuable information; they came from the pen of one Helaraja of the eighth century, Ratnakara of the ninth century and Kashemendra of the tenth century; these men all writing before A.D. 1066, a date famous in the history of England.

During the period of the Muslim rule the Sultans opened up colleges in many places, and during the time of the Sultan Qutb-ul-Din, who ruled from 1373 to 1389 A.D., the first residential college was opened. But it was not until the reign of that great King Zain-ul-Ab-ul-Din, who ruled for over fifty years from A.D. 1420, that the records that Kalhana commenced, were brought up to date.

The King had established a university close to his palace; in

this was a translation section from which came many Persian and Kashmiri scripts which had originally been in the Arabic and Sanskrit. A library was collected together from distant countries; it is said that it was the finest to be found in the Islamic East. During that time the *Rajatarangini* was brought up to date by the writer Jona Raja - a Hindu who wrote in Sanskrit and was a great favourite with this Muslim Sultan. Mulla Ahamad, a Muslim who wrote in Persian, contributed *Bahr-ul-Asmar* - "The Sea of Tales" - to that age of learning. It is recorded that the King was himself a writewr, his first book being a technical one, oddly, on the subect of fireworks; the second, a poem, was written when he was ageing: both were in Persian. It would appear that during the lifetime of this religiously tolerant monarch, Hindu and Muslim men of learning worked happily side by side; it mattered not whether they wrote in Persian or Sanskrit, so long as they wrote or translated, and there can have been few books or manuscripts which could not be found in more than one language in that library. During that reign there were also many other literary works, one by the national saint Sheikh Nur-ud-Din, another by Yuddhabhatta and still others, most of which were biographies of, or episodes in the life of the King or Sultan as he is referred to.

The task of keeping the chronicles of the country up to date was then taken over by Shivara, a Sanskrit scholar, who brought it up to the accession of Fateh Shar in A.D. 1484. He was followed by one whose work, *Rajavalipataka*, carried it on until the country was conquered by Akbar. In Akbar's time a Brahmin, Prajya Bhatt, accepted the task; his works were completed in 1594 and were carried forward by others, among them being Haider Malik in the seventeenth century, Mohammed Azam in the eighteenth century and Birbal Kachru in the nineteenth century, and so on right up until modern times. It would seem that these works of the chroniclers escaped destruction; in all probability being kept hidden in the Royal Palace unknown to the rulers, who one after the other had the works of the earlier periods either burnt, or dumped in the Dal Lake.

The records which have remained, when made by more than one writer over a period, do not always agree as to dates or even names, although possibly errors have been made in the translations, and in arriving at the dates mistakes have occurred in working them out from the quoted Hindu or Muslim years.

Of the poets of Kashmir there have been many; in the present times, as always, there is one who is looked upon much like a Poet Laureate of the country. Again quoting Lawrence, he refers to, "the village poets who suddenly spring up in the midst of business and recite in a loud shrill tone the praises of the most influential person present". This must have been most disconcerting to the "influential person", but in all probability the poet had considerable method in his presentation of a poem at that particular moment, being thus able to distract attention for sufficient time to permit the "influential person" to reconsider the case and reverse his decision, for one never knows with a Kashmiri. Lawrence goes on to say that he knew "many of these poets, and have spent hours listening patiently to rhymes which seemed to have no end, and which jumbled up in a very curious manner oriental tropes with the most commonplace and technical terms of survey and revenue work", and he explains that many of these poets that he met were unfortunately not quite sane, one he knew was a hopeless drunkard.

But apart from these, and there must have been many of them in the old days when poems and lyrics were recited with a musical background or sung as ballads before the King and his court, there were those who stand out in the history of Kashmir and whose memory is revered as their poems are recited, chanted or sung there to this day. They are the Shakespears, the Burns and the Shelleys of the Vale; strangely enough there were several poetesses among them, and as always they have not come from one class, for there are the delightfully lovely thoughts spoken in words by Kings and Queens, by beggars and by those who were near insane and would most certainly be "put away" in these days. Neither were they confined to any particular religion, for both Muslims and Hindus have contributed, not forgetting at least one Christian woman - Mrs. Percy-Brown - odd verses of whose gems it is still fashionable for Kashmiri writers to quote before a chapter in a guide book on the Valley, wheterh it be small or large. She though was a poetess of modern times.

These poets come up right through the ages, in many of their lines are to be found the history and the emotions, as expressed, of their environments at a particular stage in the progress of Kashmir. there are stories of love, stories of their heroes, and many tales of the legendary age. Then there are poems for each of the seasons, for the sowings, the reapings, for the time when the saffron is

collected, for weddings and so on. Within them they have worked many of the old popular Persian legends, this in spite of the writers having been Hindus. There are very many love songs; those which remind the people of the beauties of the country in which they live, and although no doubt some of the sweetness of the originals has been lost in the translation, those who undertook that task have chosen their words well; they also must have been poets, for so much of the loveliness of the originals remains.

As far as it is possible to trace, the first pure Kashmiri poet was Citi Kantha who lived in the early thirteenth century. Of him little can be traced, except that he wrote several books and translated many more from the Arabic into Sanskrit; probably he was under the patronage of Hasan Shah, for "he speaks well of his liberal and wise rule".

Following him was a poetess remembered by all Kashmiris. Although named Laleshwari, she was also known as Lalla Arifa or Lal Ded. Both Muslims and Hindus claim her as their own and each revere her memory. Of recent years some of her compositions have been collected together and published, but although most among them are very beautiful, not all are easy to appreciate. It would appear that the translations were difficult to make, for even learned Kashmiris admit that in the originals they find it hard to follow the rhythm and metre. The only suggestion that they can put forward for this is that the words have changed in that a syllable may have since been added or dropped here and there, or the accent lengthened or shortened, as for instance has happened to many English words when spoken by an American.

Laleshwari was born in A.D. 1335 into a fairly wealthy family which lived in Pandrethan, the capital in Asoka's time, and some four miles to the south-east of the present Srinagar. Of her early days little is known, except those bits contained in a few fables of the Valley. She was married in Pampar into a Brahmin household, and it is said that her husband was not kind to her, whilst her step-mother-in-law treated her cruelly and all but starved the girl; one writer tells that the older woman used to serve her a stone covered with a thin layer of rice in order to make it appear a lot. In the mother-in-law's defence it must be said that the girl was strangely odd in her ways; some have maintained that she was born a mystic and that it was wrong of her parents to have married her off, since both her husband and her mother-in-law had every right to expect

her to behave in the manner conforming to the social practices of a family. To those of that household into which she had come to live, she must have appeared more than strange, dring her mother-in-law, who could not understand her, nearly to distraction, and whilst it is well for those who admire her later poetic writings to defend her, the life she led a little later on, as described by those of her day, was nearer that of a mad woman than a fanatic.

Eventually she left her husband's home, but not to return to that of her parents; instead she wandered from one village to another singing and dancing in rags which left her half-nude, at times completely nude. According to Muslim tradition, when remonstrated with for her lack of decency, she replied that only those who feared God were men, and of those there were few. Then one day as she roamed naked at Khanpor, she saw Shah Hamadān in the distance, and fled crying out, "I have at last seen a man"; after that she always wore clothes.

It is said that she fell under the influence of Sidh-Boey, the Shaivite saint, soon to become his spiritual preceptor and a follower of the Trika Philosophy, after which her mind turned towards mysticism.

In her poems she tells how one may so discipline the body that the spirit may leave it to pass for a while into the higher planes; she talks of the Chakras, those points of energy within the human body. To her all religions were as one, as was the oneness of God and the equality and brotherhood of man. She condemned idol worship and rituals; she talked of the love of man and the purity which he must attain. Her poems, expressed in song and verse, were like sermons to the common people to whom in those days she was just a dancing ascetic; they loved to sit around and listen to her teachings, spoken with a silver voice and versed in the most beautiful words of their own mother-tongue. She talked to them in a language they understood, bringing into her verses examples of their everyday life, of the people, and of the things they knew and lived amongst. Therein lay her greatness, for her poems, although appreciated by kings and members of their courts, together with the learned men of that age, were also a message for all, and to this very day the people of the Valley sing the songs of Lalla.

The amazing thing to those who have studied them is that such poems could have been created by such a woman, one who could have had but little learning; yet those who have delved deeply into

the past and into their origin have little doubt that they did actually come from her lips. Some who have searched are convinced that she was not as others have declared, that is, inspired so to speak, but that she was the medium of one of the great Spirit Masters who used her as his mouthpiece on earth.

It is quite impossible to discover in the literature, let alone the poems of Kashmir, one who can rival Laleshwari her verses, not only for the lovely words themselves, but for her ability through them, to lift her listeners even today with her for a while into one of the other planes, into the spirit world, there to foretell much that has already happened since her time, not only in the land which she knew, but in those far away.

She lived to a great age, and her grave is to be seen just outside the courtyard of the Jama Masjid mosque in Srinagar.

Of all the writers of poems and lyrics in the history of Kashmir, Haba Khatoon is the most romantic figure. She wrote *lols*, which are love-lyrics, short poems seldom more than ten lines in length, the first two of which form the refrain of the song which is usually the complete expression of one mood. Although these lyrics can be recited as a poem, they are usually accompanied by one of the Kashmiri instruments.

But hers was indeed the story of true romance, the story told in children's fairy-story books, being the story of the peasant girl who through her lovely liquid voice and her sweet tender lyrics captured the heart of a Prince who made her his Princess. And it is a true one, although quite naturally further romantic tales have been woven around her and kept alive for nearly four hundred years by the songs she had written, which are still sung in the Valley. She is almost a legendary figure.

She was born of a peasant family; the exact date unknown, as is still the case with many of the peasants. But it is known that she first saw the light of day in Chandahara, a village some ten miles from Srinagar and two miles from the famous saffron fields of Pampur.

Her father, Abdul Rather sent her to the little school, which was attached to the local mosque, there to learn and recite from the Holy Koran, but she could not content herself with that alone and started reading those books which she could lay hands on, the works of Persian poets, such as Sheikh Sadi's *Gulistan* and *Bostan*. Soon she was herself composing verses; her school-teacher,

immediately smitten with wonder at the choice and beauty she made of words, encouraged her. Her fame started to spread to the surrounding districts, but her parents, who had always tilled the soil, had no desire for their daughter to become either a poetess or a singer, and in the hope of killing any ideas that she might have had in that direction, they married her off as quickly as they could to a peasant boy.

Her married life was most terribly unhappy, just as had the poetess Lalla's been; again it was the mother-in-law who bullied her, but for singing love-songs which she considered were not in keeping with the modesty expected of a nice girl who had become a married woman. Her husband, an uneducated, callow youth, also accused her by so singing of bringing disrespect upon his family as well as making him a laughing stock before all the men of the village, and he forbade her again to sing her love-songs in the home.

So it was that she took herself off to the purple saffron fields, by the slow-flowing and sympathetic river Jhelum, away on to the lower slopes of the mountains and along the little streams, there to sing her songs, always accompanied by a flock of love-sick maidens from the village.

The verses she composed were deep in emotion and full of melody in the very words, for in addition to being a poetess she was also a musician. Her fame spread miles over the valley and her lilting love-songs were heard in the fields far away from where she trod. As she grew into womanhood, the beauty of her voice was matched by the beauty of her face, and in spite of her unhappy home life, we read so often of her exquisite charm.

Yes, and as the story should continue, in desperation she went to see a fortune-teller, the then famous fakir Khwaja Masud, who told her that her unhappy home life would soon finish. It is said by some that it was he who then gave her the name of Zoon, which means the Moon, and by which name, sometimes written Zun, at others Zooni, she is still known in the Valley.

The fakir's prophecy was shortly to become true, for it was not many days after, when singing in the saffron fields with her friends, that King Yusuf Shah Chak - himself a great lover of music, and the one who had corrected Tan Sen's song in Akbar's court - rode by. He heard her glorious voice, then turning saw how really beautiful she was, and as they looked one at the other, they knew

that they were in love. One writer tells how at first he sang to her two or three lines from one of her own love songs, as from his horse he looked down and wondered how anything so really lovely could have remained for so long in the fields unknown to him, whilst she replied by completing the verse but with new words which were suited to the occasion; in them confessing that she was already married.

But he was in love; he also knew that she was in love with him, and a divorce was quickly arranged, the husband considering himself extremely fortunate to receive so much as five thousand drams for such a worthless and embarrassing wife, one who he felt was at any time capable of going out into the fields and telling in her songs of his clumsy love-making with her. At that time she was but eighteen or nineteen years of age.

It seems that she must have spent some fourteen years with Yusuf Shah Chak as his queen. As a king he was of little use, he was far too much of a dreamer, generous, cultured but weak, he once lost his throne for close on two years. With his queen he used to visit Gulmarg; he is said to have found it named Gaurimarge, meaning "The Meadow of Horses", and he - although it was probably his queen - renamed it as now known, meaning "The Meadow of Flowers". Together they used to visit Sonamarg, and the lovely springs and meadows away from the city; they floated in their royal barge on the Dal Lake, and talked and sang of love.

And so the story should end, the curtain falling on that scene, but unfortunately it did not, for the King lost his throne, and by order of the Emperor Akbar became an exile from his country. The royal lovers parted, since Haba - who as Queen had been known as Nur Jahan, could not bear to leave her precious Kashmir. There is little doubt that she became demented, for she left the Royal Palace to become a wanderer, an ascetic who walked alone over the hills and dales, meandered along the river and lake sides, the whole time softly singing of love and lovers' partings. She finally built for herself a small cottage near to her mosque a few miles out of Srinagar. For about twenty years she suffered intense sorrow, passing most of her time in lamenting and in unhappy contemplation, caring naught for food or the most simple comforts of life; she suffered as only one could who had known such heavenly happiness for so long. At last the welcome release came; she could then have been but fifty-five years of age. And although

her songs are with the people of Kashmir still, whether they be love-songs or those of lovers unhappily parted, her grave lies somewhere unidentified; she had returned to the earth from which she came, she died as she had been born - a peasant, and left behind no slab, no mound where homage might be paid to her so romantic memory.

As is to be expected of a people born with a naturally artistic bent and an imaginative temperament, who had lived over the generations through alternate years of suffering and periods of happiness, in a land so beautiful and fair as is Kashmir, there were within its mountain walls so many poets, lyricists and ballad-mongers. From among them all, within these pages have been chosen but two, the one because of her unusual life and the beautiful thought-forms which she was moved to put into prose, the other for the truly romantic story of her own life which is now almost a legend. But there have been many others; saints, yes, and doubtless sinners, though none who write of them will admit to it; there were rich and noble men and women, those from the ordinary walks of life, and there have been the poor poets of the villages. Their own stories would fill a book, for of them Kashmir has had more than her share; carefully she has recorded their works, and at the fitting time, so she remembers their prose, to sing or chant or speak the lovely words so delightfully or sympathetically strung together like precious pearls, for there they are not forgotten.

One of the greatest mysteries of the arts of Kashmir is her painters. Where is the evidence of their work? What were their names? As to whether any did in fact exist, we have but to look at the delightfully executed paintings which adorn the papier mâché now being made there to realize that, although these present workers are untrained in schools of painting, they have it in their blood to paint; such artistic perfection could not of a sudden have descended upon them.

There is slight evidence of their living though. Jarrett is his translation in 1894 of *Ain-i-Akbari*, refers to the great Chinese artist Mani on his journey first through India, then on to Iran - where he was flayed alive by the then King Shahpur for claiming to be a prophet, "remaining in Kashmir for a time". Abul Fazl, the author of the original manuscript, says that Mani had "learnt the art of painting in which he had attained incomparable skill. He painted

some wonderful figures which were celebrated by the name of Artang. Mani claimed that they were really not paintings by himself, but by angels, and brought them forward as witness of his prophetic mission."

It may be that these figures went with the arrival of the Moghul kings, for on religious grounds they would not permit of pictures of the living form. This is evidenced in the sculpture of the temples which they could not destroy because of their immenseness. In these, stone masons were called to deface the Hindu figures either by rubbing them flat or converting the human forms to curves and scrolls - in places to words.

Then Blockmann, in his book written in 1873 on the life of Akbar, declares that the great Emperor Akbar by way of explanation for shutting his eyes to the hitherto accepted ruling said, "It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognising God; for a painter in sketching anything that has life, and in devising its limbs, one after the other, must come to feel that he can bestow individuality upon his work, and is thus forced to think of God, the giver of life, and will thus increase in knowledge". He encouraged painting in the Iranian manner. In the Victoria and Albert Museum in London there are twenty-four painting on cotton-cloth which experts declare were produced in Kashmir about the middle of the sixteenth century. These are believed to have been the illustrations of a book of stories, its name and that of its author being untraceable. The best-preserved of these pictures has a garden with chinar trees; the rocklike mountain background in most is certainly like that of Kashmir. Abul Fazl, the author of the original book before referred to, says in his work that Mulla Jamil, a singer in the court of Zain-ul-Ab-ul-Din, "was foremost among his contemporaries in the arts of painting", but he does not tell us where; there is a possibility that these decorations were upon the walls of the palace and that age has obliterated them. In the old summer houses of Shalimar and the other Moghul gardens, there still remain portions which are claimed as having been the original paintings, and there is the possibility that they are, and have been kept bright by touching up.

Percy Brown, an acknowledged authority, in his valuable contribution to history, *Indian Painting under the Moghuls*, written in 1924, writing of the artists from all over the world at Akbar's Delhi court, says, "although not exactly of alien origin, we may

include a group of five painters from Kashmir, a country which for centuries has maintained a high artistic tradition". That so many could be spared from the Valley is proof in itself that there must have been many. And yet no trace of them remains. It is this writer also who suggests, in writing of certain old pictures of flowers, goats, and one in particular of a great chinar tree with goats in the background, that they must have been painted in Kashmir. He explains how the Kashmiri artists of old, in their paintings on paper, used first to paint with water, which when it had evaporated, left a slight sediment; this used as the background tint to the figure, left a faint and very charming contrast of tone for the flesh colours which were painted upon it, an art which was peculiar to Kashmiri artists alone.

So much for the Vale of Kashmir, but there are other provinces within the State. In the monasteries of Ladakh the walls are painted with stories of the ancient battles between Good and Evil, some are scenes, others are pictures of the gods alone; although of a Chinese flavour there is little doubt that, as is claimed, some of these must have been painted by the lamas themselves. Sir Auriel Stein in 1931 suddenly made known the discovery by a shepherd-boy in the northern hills of Kashmir, of coloured drawings bound within painted covers which are said to have been executed in Kashmir by Buddhists in the fifth century.

Then of Jammu and the other small states which lie either without the inner or outer mountain range; it is known that towards the end of the reign of Aurangzeb, and during the time of those who followed him, because of the economic and political disturbances, the court painters and artists who found their royal patrons in Delhi had little appreciation for their work, sought the patronage of the smaller courts of the Rajas who lived at the foot of the Punjab hills. In their kingdoms, principalities and states, which spread to a length of about two hundred miles, they set up schools of painting, and their work is spoken of as "The Jammu School", being claimed as an off-shoot of the Rajasthan School of painting; yet the work which came from the brushes of these artists bears its own stamp with the local variations of background distinctions and the peculiarities of the several masters of the schools, it being easy for the expert to tell whether they were the products of the Poonch school, from which came some notable pictures of their Rajas and patrons, or of the Jammu school. Most

of these paintings were miniature, their creators appear to have been impressed by cloud effects which were so often found clinging to the distant mountain tops in those parts, as opposed to Delhi where the sky is for months as clear, uninteresting blue, the only variation being its differing shades as the seasons progress. So it is that we find few of the old pictures painted there without a high horizon with curling cloud formations, even though the scene be of the night.

The portraits which remain show the figures in very stiff attitudes, as though the coats they wore had been starched; if the unfortunate model had to stand for long as now shown in the picture, then he must have suffered agonies in so doing, with flower in hand stuck out before him and standing fixed in a position of "attention". Most are of the profile, the character facing either direct right or left; otherwise they were full face, a few only were at an angle, and the artists delighted in "improving" the portrait with thick gold ornaments and jewellery so painted with real gold or powdered down precious stones which seem as though enamelled on, being rather like emboss work. Some have had amazing decorations given to their garments, these being tiny portions of beetle wings stuck on and incorporated into the costume; it is said that butterfly wings were also used for this purpose, but these being more delicate, have since turned to dust. I have little doubt that this was so though, for I have seen one otherwise perfect miniature which it is claimed was painted in Poonch, which has a number of bare spots on a ceremonial cloak shaped like a peacock's tail, such a picture can conceivably have been so decorated.

A chapter dealing with Kashmiri painting would be incomplete without some reference to calligraphy, the art of decorative writing, which is slightly different from that of illuminated writing as known in Europe and America. This style of decoration was frequently used to display passages from the Koran, just as in the old days stitch-work texts from the Bible were enclosed in very ornamental frames and placed on the walls of bedrooms, although, as with some of the books which were written in Europe before printing was invented, it was also used by kings and rulers within those books they intended to pass down through history. The pages were decorated with a thick surround of coloured decoration consisting of flowers and leaves so that to those who could not appreciate the

beauty of the curves of the text, this appeared the more lovely.

Besides the scribes which were attached to the court, there were also the calligraphers. The cover would be written by them sometimes together with the title pages to the different sections. Those who have studied the curves and varying thicknesses of the Arabic and Persian letters will at once appreciate the beauty of the curves and symmetric and artistic drawing upon the sheet of paper of some of the words in these old texts, just as "copper plate" writing can be admired for its worth in the Western world.

In the courts of kings, such men were of considerable importance and carried much weight with their masters. The Emperor Akbar had among his calligraphists a Kashmiri, by name Muhammad Hussain, whose penmanship he said had the effects of magic, and whom he honoured with the title of "Zarrin Qalam", meaning "Of the golden pen"; critics consider that this artist surpassed his own master in the glorious curvatures and extensions found everywhere in perfect proportion in his writings. The Emperor Jahangir, who in his autobiography speaks of him as "the chief of the elegant writers of the day", so appreciated his work that he presented him with an elephant. The Emperor Shah Jahan's favourite court calligraphist was a Kashmiri named Muhammad Murad. Of him it has been said that "he was a master of both the small and the large hand", and on him the Emperor conferred the title of "Shirin Qalam" - "Of the sweet pen". His younger brother was also a well-known calligraphist, both were sons of a wealthy Valley merchant, and both were also artists with words - poets. One can imagine how beautifully those particular works which were entire creations of their own must have been presented.

Pearce Gervis: *This is Kashmir*

CHAPTER XXI

PRODUCTS AND MANUFACTURES

What Kashmir is principally known for to the outside world is its shawls; but the wool from which they are manufactured is not produced in Kashmir itself: it comes from Tibet and Chinese Turkestan. It is the soft down lying under the long hair of the Tibetan goat. Kashmir does, however, produce a coarser wool of its own. Kashmir villagers keep immense numbers of sheep, for round their villages and on the mountain uplands there is an abundance of rich grass, the leaves of the willow trees and of irises furnish winter fodder, and these animals are not only thus easily fed, but also furnish their owner with clothing, with food and with manure, and by crowding in the lower portion of his house keep him warm in winter. They are shorn twice in the year, once in early summer and again in the autumn. The wool is of good quality, and in the winter months the women spin it and the men weave it into blankets and into the well-known "puttoo" cloth, in which sportsmen in Kashmir clothe themselves, and for which, since the Swadeshi movement, there has been a great demand in India.

Silk is another and increasingly important product. The whole of the valley is covered with mulberry trees, and for many centuries sericulture has been practised in the country. But it is only recently that it has been placed on a really business-like footing. Now good "seed", i.e., silk-worms' eggs, are imported fresh every year from France and Italy - about six-sevenths from France and one-seventh from Italy - and in the spring are given out to the cultivators free of charge. The villagers hatch out the eggs, feed the silk-worms on the mulberry leaves, and then bring the cocoons to the State silk factory at Srinagar for sale. The amount paid for these cocoons is between four and five thousand rupees, so that the Kashmiri villagers at very little trouble and no cost are able to put a nice sum of money into their pockets every summer, and are consequently now clamouring to be given seed. The mulberry trees are carefully watched by the State, and an inspector of mulberry trees goes

round the valley, seeing that the trees are not damaged and are properly pruned. Young mulberry trees are distributed by the State to the villagers to the number of from 30,000 to 40,000 a year.

Fruit is another of Kashmir's important products which may be expected largely to increase in the future. Kashmir apples are renowned all over India. They are large, red, and attractive looking, and sell well as far down as Calcutta and Bombay. But they are not of really good flavour, and the apples from European stock now being grown are sure to have a large sale in the future. In the autumn months thousands of cart-loads are carried down the roads to the railway at Rawal Pindi. The apple grows wild in Kashmir, and the villagers uproot the wild trees and plant them in their orchards. But the State also now supplies them with young trees. Near Srinagar there are large State nurseries stocked with the best kinds from Europe, and every year thousands of young trees are given out free to the villagers, so that the valley may gradually be filled with the best available trees. The State also to a small extent grows apples for sale, and their trees are extraordinarily prolific. In the autumn one sees these apple trees weighed down to the ground with fruit. The apples also grow to an enormous size. And when the railway comes to Kashmir, and carriage is easier and cheaper, the export of apples and other fruit should increase to striking dimensions, and not only be one of the best means of making the railway pay, but bring great profits to the cultivators. The apple of Kashmir has a great future before him.

So has the pear. It is not so much to the fore at present, because he does not stand carriage as well; but the railway will remove that drawback, and he will run the apple hard. Like the apple, the pear also is found wild and transplanted into orchards. But good stock is now being grown in the State orchard and distributed from there. Some of these, and some that have been imported by European residents, have taken so kindly to Kashmir, that I believe their present products are not surpassed anywhere. From Major Wigram's garden comes a famous pear, so large, and soft, and luscious, as scarcely to support its own weight. Other winter pears keep right through to the early summer.

Quinces also are grown in considerable quantities. They make excellent jam, but are chiefly grown for their seed, which is exported to the Punjab.

Grapes have been tried, and on the shores of the Dal Lake

there is a vineyard under the charge of a Frenchman, from which what is known as Kashmir wine is made. But this branch of fruit culture has not so far been so successful as the culture of pears and apples. It is said that the rain falls at the wrong time. But probably the most suitable descriptions of grapes have not yet been tried or the most suitable site yet selected. In the time of the Moghals they were plentiful, and wild vines are often seen. So it is hard to believe that grapes cannot be grown in Kashmir as well as the other fruits for which it is famous.

Walnut trees are found all over the valley, and quantities of the nuts are now exported, though formerly they were only used for oil. They are an excellent fruit, and one kind known as the *kagazi* has such a thin shell that it is easily cracked between the fingers, and the kernel is excellent. The villages on the lower slopes are often surrounded with walnut trees, some of enormous size, and adding greatly to the beauty of the village.

Mulberries, as has been remarked in regard to sericulture, are plentifully grown. They are eaten in immense quantities by the people as well as by their animals.

Almonds are grown in considerable quantities in large orchards. Apricots are grown, but not very plentifully, and principally for oil. Peaches, cherries, pomegranates, and plums are also cultivated, but have not yet received much attention from the villagers. Strawberries grow abundantly in the gardens of Europeans, and gooseberries and currants also succeed. There is, indeed, scarcely a limit to what the fruit production of Kashmir might be if it received attention and care.

Of the food grains rice is the principal. With all the streams running down from the mountains ample water for the copious irrigation it requires is available. The Kashmiris are exceptionally clever in its cultivation, and they grow it up to an altitude of 7000 feet. The fields are terraced carefully to hold the irrigation, and are incessantly watered and anxiously weeded. Lawrence says that in one district alone he has found fifty-three varieties, and certain villages are famous for their peculiar rices. But they may be roughly divided into two classes, the white and the red, of which the former is the more esteemed by epicures, though the cultivators prefer the latter as it is less delicate, suffers less from changes of climate, and gives a larger out-turn. Lawrence gives the average

crop of unhusked rice per acre as 17 maunds, or 1220 lbs. Large quantities of rice are exported to the Punjab.

Maize is the next most important crop. In the black peaty land lying along the Jhelum, and in the high villages where numbers of cattle graze and manure is plentiful, very fine crops are grown. As a rule it is grown on dry land, and is seldom irrigated. The stalk forms excellent fodder for cattle. The average yield in irrigated and dry swamp land is 11 maunds, or 880 lbs., and on dry land 8 maunds, or 640 lbs. per acre. As a diet maize ranks after rice, but the villagers, when money is scarce, will sell their rice and subsist on maize.

Barley is largely grown, but it is not of good quality, and no pains are taken in its cultivation.

Wheat receives better treatment, but the wheat flour of Kashmir is not esteemed. The average production on dry land is 7 maunds, or 560 lbs. per acre.

Millet is another food grain grown in Kashmir, but not very generally.

Buckwheat is cultivated in the higher villages.

Pulses are not much grown. *Mung* (*Phaseolus Mungo*) is the best, and is often sown in rice lands which require a rest. Others are *raah* (*Phaseolus radiatus*) and *mothi* (*Phaseolus aconitifolius*). Peas and white beans are occasionally cultivated; in the gardens of the European residents they give excellent results.

Oil-seeds are largely grown, and now that a company for oil-pressing is being started, still more attention is likely to be paid to them. The Kashmiris do not use *ghi* (clarified butter) in their food. They consequently require vegetable oils for that purpose, and as mineral oils are too expensive, they use them also for lighting. The principal oil-seed grown is the rape, of which there are three varieties. An average crop is 3 maunds, or 240 lbs. per acre. Large quantities of linseed are also produced, of which an average crop would be 1½ to 2 maunds, 120 to 160 lbs. per acre. *Til* (*Sesamum indicum*) is a very common crop. It yields 1½ maunds, or 120 lbs. per acre. *Til* is also extracted from the walnut and apricot. Rape seed gives the best oil for lighting purposes, and linseed for eating.

Cotton is grown to a small extent all over the valley, and both the fibre and the seed are used, the one for home-manufactured cotton cloth, and the other as food for cattle.

Tobacco is cultivated in many parts. And two very beautiful crops are amaranth and saffron. The former is grown in many places along the edges of the fields, and gives a purply crimson touch to the landscape. Its minute grains are first parched, and then ground and eaten with milk or water. It is especially used by the Hindu on festival days. The latter is grown on the plateau above Pampur, and when in blossom forms one of the sights of Kashmir. The plant is like a crocus, and the flower mauve and purple. A large space of the plateau is covered with it, and this sheet of colour adds a strikingly beautiful effect to an already beautiful landscape. The saffron of Kashmir is famous for its bouquet, and is used as a condiment and as a pigment for the forehead marks of the Hindus. The flowers are dried in the sun, and the pollen is extracted by hand. It is this pollen and the pollen-bearing portion of the flower which forms the saffron.

Mustard is also grown - mostly for oil; and round the town, especially round Srinagar, in the vicinity of the Dal Lake, vegetables are cultivated in market gardens. The cultivation of potatoes, indeed, is now increasing so rapidly that many scores of cart-loads are annually exported to the Punjab.

Hops are grown by the State at Dabgarh near Sopur, and their cultivation could doubtless be extended, but so far the cultivators, who are very conservative, have not taken to it.

Such are the chief vegetable products of Kashmir, and the State is making endeavours to improve existing staples and introduce anything new which may prove productive in the country. For this purpose the Maharaja has established a model farm, known as the Pratab Model Farm, and situated near the Shalimar garden to experiment with different varieties of grain and different methods of cultivation, and it is hoped that if new varieties prove specially productive they will be taken up by the cultivators. The farm was opened by Lord Minto in the autumn of 1906. Long rows of accurately measured plots of ground, one-sixteenth of an acre each, are planted with the different varieties, and their yield carefully measured. As one passes up the line he sees at a glance the relative qualities of each variety of wheat or maize or rice, and if the farm is carefully worked for a series of years it ought to give some valuable results. Already the cultivators have been attracted by the enormous size of some maize from Canada grown on the

farm. Some very straight Russian flax recommended by the Dundee Chamber of Commerce seems to promise good results. And perhaps beetroot for sugar may also have a success, for almost any vegetable product that grows in a temperate climate will grow in Kashmir.

The crops reaped in the spring in Kashmir are wheat, barley, rape, flax, pea, and bean. Those reaped in the autumn are rice, maize, cotton, saffron, millet, tobacco, hop, amaranth, buckwheat, pulse, sesame.

The alluvial soil of the valley is of great fertility, and every year is renewed by rich silt from the mountain streams. The soil of the higher parts is not so rich, though it, too, will give good returns. Irrigation is largely used, for water is abundant, as the snow on the mountains forms a natural reservoir stored up for the hot weather, when it melts and runs down to the valley at the time when it is most wanted. The Kashmiri is very clever at making his little water channels and leading the water on to his field.

The agricultural implements used are simple and primitive. The plough is light, for the cattle which are yoked to it are small. It is made of wood, and the ploughshare is tipped with iron. The spade likewise is made of wood, has a long handle and a narrow face, and is tipped with iron. A hand hoe is also used for weeding.

Ploughing for rice, maize, and other autumn crops commences in the middle of March. In April and May these crops are sown. In June and July wheat and barley, sown in the previous autumn, are harvested. In July and August linseed is harvested. In August and September cotton-picking commences. In September and October rice, maize, and other autumn crops are harvested. In November and December ploughing for wheat and barley takes place. And during the winter rice and maize and other autumn crops are threshed.

FORESTS

The yield of the forests of Kashmir is also of great value. all the northward-facing slopes are covered with dense forests, a considerable part of which is of the valuable deodar. This is cut into sleepers, launched into the streams which find their way into the Jhelum, and so allowed to float down the river to the plains of

the Punjab. Here the sleepers are caught where the river is slow and shallow, and sold at considerable profit to the State. The deodar is a very handsome tree, and is a variety of the cedar of Lebanon. It will be noticed by visitors to the valley along the road between Uri and Baramula, especially near Rampur. Less beautiful and less valuable as timber is the Blue pine (*Pinus excelsa*). It grows at a greater height than the deodar, which does not flourish above 6,000 feet, and it may be seen at Gulmarg. The Himalayan spruce (*Picea morinda*) is very common, and also grows round Gulmarg, but its timber is of little value. Birches grow high up above the pines and next the snows; their timber is of no use, but the bark is much employed for roofing. In the forests are also found silver fur, horse-chestnut, and maple.

All these forests are owned by the State, and are now under the charge of a Forest Department, often with a conservator from the Government service at its head. The boundaries of forests are being laid down, and the State is determining under what conditions neighbouring villagers and others may be granted the customary concessions for felling timber, grazing, and gathering grass and fuel. It is usual for the State to let fuel and fodder be gathered free, and to charge for grazing and for cutting timber for building and agricultural purposes. But the areas in which these operations can be permitted, and the rates to be charged, have to be fixed, and the operations regulated. The trees are counted, marked for felling according to their age, and in regular succession, so as to allow of young trees growing up to fill their place. And in many other ways the forests are watched so as to prevent their denudation, and all the damage that would be caused through the rainfall rushing off at once instead of being held up by the trees. By the proper regulation of the forests the State raises a handsome income; it secures the soil being retained on the hill-sides; and it has the water held up in springs as a reservoir; while the authorities in the Punjab know that the rain which falls in Kashmir will be held up by the forests till the cold weather, when it is wanted for the canals which are taken off from the Jhelum and Chenab rivers flowing out of Kashmir territory.

Of the trees which grow in the level portions of the valley the chenar is by far the most striking. As it grows in Kashmir it is a king among trees, and in its foliage is one of the many attractions which go to make Kashmir one of the supremely beautiful spots in

the world. Its official botanical name is the *Platanus orientalis*, and it is one of the varieties of the plane tree. The chief characteristic is the massiveness of its foliage. It grows to a considerable height and has long outstanding branches and great girth. One which Lawrence measured was 63 feet round the base. And as the leaves are broad and flat, the whole mass of foliage is immense, and so thick that both sun and rain are practically excluded from any one sitting in its shade. Under the chenar trees in the Residency garden one can sit through a summer day without a hat, and through a summer shower without getting wet. All this mass of foliage turned purple, claret, red, and yellow in the autumn tinting, backed against a clear blue sky and overhanging the glittering, placid waters of the Dal Lake or the Jhelum River, forms a picture which can be seen in no other country than Kashmir.

The elm tree of Kashmir, though not so striking as the chenar, is still a very graceful object. One in the Lolab valley has been measured as 43 feet in girth, and in the Residency garden are some fine specimens.

The walnut is more common, and round the villages many handsome trees are often seen.

The poplar is now very common, and is planted alongside the road to what is now a quite distressing extent, for though these trees give shade they also cut out the view. The timber is used a good deal for building, though it is of poor quality.

The willow is a more really useful tree, and is much planted in moist places. Its leaves are used for fodder. Its shoots are to some extent, though not sufficiently, used for basket-making.

MINERAL PRODUCTS

The mineral products of the Kashmir valley are small. In other districts of the Kashmir State there are indications of a moderate amount of mineral wealth. In the Jammu province there is a considerable quantity of coal of a rather poor quality, and there is good iron and bauxite. Sapphires also are found there. And in Ladak, in the Indus and its tributaries, there are gold-washings. But in the Kashmir valley, with which we are at present dealing, only a small amount of iron has been worked so far, though it is believed that large quantities exist near Sopor and about Islamabad and Pampur; and copper has also been found near Aishmakam in

the Liddar valley.

Peat is extracted from the low-lying lands on the Jhelum River, and can be used as a cheap fuel. Several strong sulphur springs are found in the valley, and limestone exists in many places, notably about Rampur, and on the Manasbal Lake.

ARTS AND MANUFACTURES

Of manufactures the shawl is the best known, but the production has sadly fallen off of late years. In accordance with the treaty between the Kashmir State and the British Government, six pairs of shawls of fine quality have to be yearly paid to the latter, and but for this the industry would almost disappear. Kashmir shawls in the middle of the last century used to be very fashionable in Europe, but the Franco-Prussian War seems to have sealed the fate of the industry. After 1870 the fashion went out and has never revived; and the famine of 1877-79 carried off numbers of the weavers, so that now very few carry on the industry. According to M. Dauvergne, who was for many years connected with the shawl and carpet industry in Kashmir, the Kashmir shawl dates back to the times of the Emperor Baber. The first shawls which reached Europe were brought by Napoleon at the time of his campaign in Egypt as a present to the Empress Josephine.

The best shawls are made from the very fine wool, known as pashm, underlying the long hair of the Tibetan goat, which is woven into a delicate material called pashmina on which the shawl patterns are worked. Some of this pashm, and some of the best, is also imported from Chinese Turkestan from the neighbourhood of Ush Turfan.

From 1862 to 1870 the export of shawls averaged 25 to 28 lakhs of rupees per annum, or over a quarter of a million sterling, and when the trade was at its zenith 25,000 to 28,000 persons were engaged in their manufacture.

Some of the best of the old shawls are preserved in the museum at Srinagar. They show much tasteful arrangement of colour and fineness of workmanship.

Carpets have now surpassed shawls in order of importance, and two European firms, Messrs. Mitchell and Co., and Mr. Hadow, have quite as much as they can do to keep pace with the orders

they receive, of which a very large number come from America. Many of the old weavers have taken to carpet-making, and the pashm used formerly for shawls is now being increasingly used for the finer kind of carpets. The dyes are good in Kashmir, and as the finest wool is to be had the carpet industry ought to have a good future before it.

Silk is another most thriving industry with great future possibilities. The State have now in Srinagar the largest silk factory in the world, employing about 3300 men, and turning out about 200,000 lbs. of silk a year, most of which is sold as yarn in the European market, bringing in a very handsome profit to the State. A small amount of silk weaving is also carried on in the same factory. When it can be turned out dyed and finished it should have a great sale in India, though the State are not likely to derive the same high profits from the woven cloth that they do from selling the yarn.

Electric power has now been supplied to the silk factory from the great electric installation on the Jhelum River, and is used for heating the water in the basins in which the cocoons are immersed for reeling. It will also be used for turning some of the reeling machinery, and possibly also for electrocuting the grubs in the cocoons.

Papier-mâché is a favourite artistic product of Kashmir, and some very handsome candlesticks, bowls, and vases, well adapted for English country houses, may be purchased. The old designs are especially beautiful. But nowadays very little is made from real pulp of paper, and most of what is sold as papier-mâché is made of smooth wood.

The silver work is poor, as it lacks finish, and the modern designs are not especially beautiful. But the Kashmiri workmen used to be able to produce a peculiar sheen on the silver work which gave it a striking and unusual appearance.

Some handsome copper work is also produced in Srinagar, and some pretty enamel work.

But at present the fashion rather turns to woodcarving, which has certainly much improved. Very handsome screens, tables, panels, boxes, etc., are made, and the Kashmiri carpenter is getting to finish his work much better. Whether the work is worth the prices asked is doubtful. Better woodcarving can be had in Europe for the same price.

Turning from art industries to more practical manufactures, the first to notice is basket-work. Most villages have their artisan who makes baskets for agricultural purposes, for carrying loads and for rough village work. Willow trees are plentiful and might be much more extensively grown.

Puttoo cloth and blankets are well-known manufactures of Kashmir. Since the Swadeshi movement has extended in India, and the demand for goods made in India has increased, there has been a regular run on the rough woollen "puttoo" of Kashmir, and the price has gone up. Formerly a sportsman could get a good shikar suit for eight rupees. Now he has to pay ten or twelve. It is excellent wearing material, but is too loosely woven and liable to get out of shape. Proposals are on foot for establishing woollen factories in Kashmir, and with suitable machinery and proper supervision good useful cloth should be made from the excellent wool with which the country abounds.

Cotton cloth is also manufactured in the villages, of a rough, homely description. But whether this manufacture will ever increase to a great extent is doubtful.

Finally, among the industries of Kashmir must be mentioned boat-building, which is indeed one of the most important in the country. The Kashmiri is an intelligent and clever carpenter, though in accordance with his character he lacks accuracy and finish. His boats are of all sizes, from the great grain barges, carrying cargoes of thirty tons, to State "parindas" or fliers propelled by forty or fifty rowers, and to light skiffs for a couple of paddlers. House-boats of quite elaborate design are also made. And if properly supervised and instructed, the Kashmiri should be capable of constructing any kind of craft.

There is little iron work in Kashmir, for iron is not plentiful. But the Kashmiri has such natural skill that he can turn out quite good guns and rifles, and will make all the ordinary surgical instruments required in the hospital.

TRADE

Of these products and manufactures considerable quantities are exported to India, and will help to make the proposed railway pay, while this railway on its part will help to increase the exports, for much that cannot be taken out of the country, now that everything

has to be carried 196 miles by road, would be exported if railway carriage were available. Apples and pears to the extent of 90,000 maunds, or 3210 tons, are exported annually, besides from 10,000 to 20,000 maunds of other fruit. Rice and maize exports vary greatly according to the demand in the Punjab. The export of ghi or clarified butter amounts to 720 tons. Potatoes are an increasingly important export, and the demand for them is certain to rise. Hides and skins to the amount of some 350 tons are annually exported. The export of linseed varies greatly in amount. Silk, wool, and woollen goods are also exported, besides a few miscellaneous articles, and some 4000 live animals, mostly sheep and goats. In addition, from ten to twelve laks of rupees worth of timber are floated down the river.

Altogether the exports from the Kashmir valley, including timber, amount to about £350,000 in value.

Cotton piece-goods are the chief imports into Kashmir. Some are the coarse, but rough and well-wearing products of the Punjab peasants, but most are the products of Manchester, and are worn by the Srinagar and other townspeople.

SALT

Salt is the next most important import, and now that the Government of India has decreased the duty on it, the quantity imported into Kashmir is likely to steadily increase. It is sadly needed by the poorer classes, both for themselves and for their animals, and as yet not half enough for their real requirements comes into the country. What is imported comes from the salt districts of the Punjab.

Tea is now being largely imported, which shows that the people are acquiring a larger purchasing power. One and a quarter million pounds of tea, with a value of seven and a half lakhs of rupees, or £50,000, are now imported annually.

Suger is being imported in increasing quantities. The Kashmiris are very fond of sugar, and as their condition improves the demand for sugar and the amount of imports is sure to increase.

Metals are another import of increasing value and importance. At present the Kashmiris use earthenware cooking pots, but when

in time they take to metal the import of copper must increase.

Other imports of minor importance are wearing apparel, twist and yarns, drugs and medicines (half a lakh of rupees), turmeric, gunny bags, leather, liquors, petroleum, provisions, seeds, manufactured silk, spices, stationery, tobacco, and raw wool.

Sir Francis Younghusband: *Kashmir*

CHAPTER XXII

CHRONOLOGICAL OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF KASHMIR

<i>Date</i>	<i>Event/Historical Detail</i>
B.C.	
2448 to	King Gonanda I
1181 B.C.	King Damodara I
	King Yasovati
	King Gonanda II

	King Lava
	King Kusheshaya
	King Khagendra
	King Surendra
	King Godhara
	King Janaka
	King Shachinvara
	King Ashoka
	King Jaloka
	King Damodara II
	King Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka
1182	King Abimanyu I
1147	King Gonanda III
1094	King Vibhishana I
...	King Inderjita
1058	King Ravana
1023	King Vibhishana II
983	King Nara <i>alias</i> Kinnaia
923	King Sidha
893	King Utpalaksha
855	King Hiranyaksha
795	King Mukula <i>alias</i> Vasukula
735	King Mihirakula

<i>Date</i>	<i>Event/Historical Detail</i>
665	King Vaka
602	King Kshitinanda
572	King Vasunanda
520	King Nara II
460	King Aksha
400	King Gopaditya
340	King Gokarna
282	King Narendraditya
246	King Yudhisthira I
167	King Pratápáditya I
135	King Jalauka
103	King Tungjna I
67	King Vijaya
59	King Jayendra
22	King Sandhimat <i>alias</i> Aryyarāja
A.D.	
25	King Meghaváhana
59	King Sheshtasena <i>alias</i> Pravarsena I
89	King Hiranya
120	King Matrigupta
125	King Pravasena II
185	King Yudhishthira II
206	King Narendráditya I <i>alias</i> Lakhshmana
219	King Ranáditya I
519	King Vikramáditya
561	King Báláditya
598	King Durlabhavardhana
634	King Durlabhaka <i>alias</i> Pratápáditya II
693	King Tárápíra
697	King Lalitaditya I
733	King Kuvalayápíra
734	King Lalitaditya II
741	King Prithivyápíra I
745	Sangrámapíra I
745	King Jayápíra
776	King Lalitápíra
788	King Sangrámapíra II
795	King Chippatajayapíra <i>alias</i> Virhaspati
813	King Ajitapíra

<i>Date</i>	<i>Event/Historical Detail</i>
849	King Ananggapira
852	King Utpalápira
855	King Avantivarmáná
883	King Shangkaravarmmá
902	King Gopálavarmmá
904	King Sangkata
904	King Sugandhá
906	King Pártha
921	King Nirjjitarammá
922	King Chakravarmmá
933	King Shuravamma I
934	King Partha (second time)
935	King Chakravarmma (second time)
	King Shamhubardhana
935	King Chakravarmma (third time)
937	King Unmattávanti
939	King Surararmma II
939	King Yashaskara
948	King Varnata
948	King Sanggráma I
948	King Parvuagupta
950	King Kshemagupta
958	King Abhimanyu II
972	King Nandigupta
973	King Tribhuvanagupta
975	King Bhimagupta
980	King Diddá
1003	King Sanggrámarāja <i>alias</i> Kshamápati
1028	King Harirāja
1028	King Anantadeva
1063	King Ranáditya II <i>alias</i> Kalasha
1089	King Utkarsha
1089	King Harsha
1110 to 1111	King Vichchala's reign
1149	Kalhana Pandit ends his history
1286	Simha Deva
1305	Zulchu attacks Kashmir

<i>Date</i>	<i>Event/Historical Detail</i>
1320	Rentchan kills Simha Deva's Commander-in-chief and marries his daughter Kutta Rani Rentchan's conversion to Islam; assumes the title Sultan Sadrud Din
1326	Sultan Sadrud Din dies; Death of Hazrat Bulbul Shah Udayanadeva, brother of Simha Deva, marries Kutta Rani and ascends the throne
1343	Udayanadeva dies; Kutta Rani assumes the office but only for fifty days
1343	Shah Mir declares himself to be the king; marries Kota Rani; Kota Rani's suicide Shah Mir rules under the name Sultan Shamas-ud Din
1346	Sultan Shamas-ud Din dies; accession of Sultan Jamshid
1347	Sultan Ala-ud Din's accession
1351	Lal Dyad, the hermitess poet born
1359	Ala-ud Din dies; accession of Shihab-ud Din
1372	Hazrat Shah Hamdan's first visit to Kashmir
1377	Birth of Hazrat Sheikh Noor-ud Din, the great saint and poet
1379	Accession of Sultan Qutab-ud Din; Hazrat Shah Hamdan's second visit
1383	Third visit of Hazrat Shah Hamdan; his death at Khatlan
1392	Hazrat Mir Muhmad Hamadani visits Kashmir
1394	Sultan Sikander ascends the throne
1403	Completion of Jama Masjid of Srinagar, founded by Sultan Sadrud Din
1416	Sikander's death; accession of Sultan Ali Shah
1424	Death of Ali Shah and accession of Sultan Zain-ul Aabidin Bad Shah

<i>Date</i>	<i>Event/Historical Detail</i>
1438	Death of Hazrat Sheikh Noor-ud Din; mourning in the valley
1471	Death of Bad Shah; accession of Haider Shah
1475	Accession of Hassan Shah
1487 - 1527	Death of Hassan Shah; Fateh Shah usurps the throne; Muhammad Shah Hassan Shah's son regains the throne
1527	Mir Shamas-ud Din Iraqi arrives; Chak's conversion to Shiaism
1517	Fateh Shah dies
1520	Fateh Shah's son, Sikander ascends the throne by defeating Muhammad Shah
1521	Sheikh Yaqub Sarfi born
1527	Sultan Ibrahim Shah ascends the throne
1531	Mirza Haider Doghlat's invasion
1537	Sultan Sams-ud Din rules
1539	Mirza Haider Doghlat becomes an adherent of the Mughal King Humayun
1540	Sultan Ismail Shah
1541	Mirza Haider rules as Humayun's governor but Nazuk Shah rules as the Sultan
1543	Death of Kaji Chak
1551	Mirza Haider Doghlat killed
1553	Sultan Habib Shah, the last Shahmiri King rules
1554	Ghazi Chak, the first Chak ruler
1563	Hussain Shah Chak rules
1570	Ali Shah ascends the throne
1579	Yusuf Chak's accession followed by Syed Mubarik Baihaqi, Lohur Chak, Yusuf Shah (second time) and Yaqub Shah Chak
1586	Annexation of Kashmir to the Mughal Empire of Akbar
1590	First visit of Akbar
1593	Second visit of Akbar
1596	Third visit of Akbar
1619	Jahangir visits Kashmir

<i>Date</i>	<i>Event/Historical Detail</i>
1630	Mulla Tahir Ghani, the Kashmiri Persian poet born
1632	Zaffar Khan appointed as Governor
1665	Aurangzeb visits Kashmir. Bernier, a French physician, visits
1698	The sacred hair of Prophet Mohammad (SAW) brought to Kashmir by Khwaja Nur-ud Kin Ashawari from Bijapur; construction of Hazratbal shrine
1707	Jalal Khan, the Subedar of Kashmir
1752	Ahmad Shah Abdali conquers Kashmir. The Afghan rule begins
1792	Zaman Shah Durani the ruler of Kashmir
1796	Abdullah Khan Alkozai, the Subedar
1805	Atta Mohammed Khan, the Governor of Kashmir
1813	Mohammad Azim, the Governor
1819	Kashmir taken by Ranjit Singh and annexed to the Punjab
	Diwan Moti Ram, the first Sikh Governor
1825	Kirpa Ram, the Governor
1833	Colonel Mian Singh, the Governor
1842	Sheikh Ghulam Mohi-ud Din appointed as the Governor
1845	Imam-ud Din appointed as the Governor
1846	Sheikh Imam-ud Din declares Independence
16 March, 1846	Kashmir, ceded by the Sikhs to the British Government, was sold to the Dogra King Gulab Singh
1857	Maharaja Gulab Singh dies Maharaja Ranbir Singh's accession
1885	Maharaja Pratap Singh ascends the throne, succeeded by Maharaja Hari Singh
1947	Dogra rule ends.

CHAPTER XXIII

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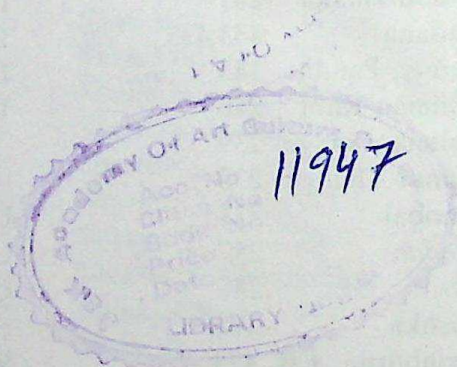
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EUROPEANS ON KASHMIR

Kashmir has been attracting the attention of European historians, anthropologists, scientists and men of creative imagination since the dawn of civilization, but the body of learning that we call Kashmir studies was founded in the 19th century when a number of European orientalists expended the best of their time and competence in exploring various aspects of the land and its people. G. T. Vigne, William Moorcroft, Walter Lawrence, George A. Grierson, Hinton Knowles, Frederick Drew, C. Tyndale Biscoe, to name only a few, wrote several volumes on the geography, geology, fauna and flora, history, social life, language and literature of Kashmir. A compendious volume covering all these diverse fields of knowledge was much called for.

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